$2.25 July 12, 1996

COMMONWEAL

EXTRA! EXTRA!

"Issues of major concern in the church are not really open to a free and collegial evaluation and discussion.... A free discussion is one in which loyalty to the pope and the orthodoxy of faith of those who discuss these issues are not called into question. In subtle ways and sometimes in very direct ways, the position of the curia on these issues is communicated to bishops at synods and intimidates them."

Archbishop John R. Quinn

St. Charles Seminary
Carthagena, Ohio

"For the first time in my life as a trade unionist, my personal convictions place me in conflict with the immediate economic needs of workers and the near-term institutional needs of unions. In short, I can no longer support President Bill Clinton's bid for reelection."

n T. Joyce
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To the Editors

Bob Lax, friend

I was delighted to come upon the April 19 issue and all that it contained about my old pal Bob Lax. Compliments to James Uebbing.

Bob Lax and I have been fast friends since our days on *Jubilee* magazine, our later days in France, a friendship now sustained by the postal service.

So it was in 1969, when I was "a winged thing at a crossroads," out of a job, returned from Korea, where I labored for a few years, but then, in Miami, thankful that I was jobless and able to be at the bedside of my comatose brother.

Bob was aware of the situation, and from his pen emerged "On Seeing," a poem I cherish to this day, rereading it every whipstitch. And a thought occurred: Perhaps, after publication of "The Poet Who Fell off the Map," "On Seeing" might appeal to readers of *Commonweal*, and delight them.

PETER WALSH
New York, N.Y.

(*Editor's note: See* box, this page).

It's not news

Sadly enough, journalists like to go after sociologists, and vice versa, even though they should really be cooperating, since they both study society. Nonetheless, I cannot resist telling Kathleen Carlin that the lesson she wants to teach sociologists, "You Become What You Wear" [Last Word, June 1]—i.e., that we force the poor to stigmatize themselves—can already be found in any good introductory sociology or social problems course.

HERBERT J. GANS
New York, N.Y.

The writer is Robert S. Lynd professor of sociology at Columbia University.

On Seeing

(For Peter Walsh)

How to nail down
for the future generations
the absolute craziness
of a bird-track in the snow
is, more or less,
if I may state it baldly
(and I must)
my problem.

Not that as a sign
this (same bird-track)
is in itself inscrutable;
but that a trace
of such importance
should be left
so casually here
on the road-side
(where he who runs may read)
is at least a step or two
closer to the problem.

What the fowl wrote
was
in itself
confusion:
heel-print of a creature
wondering where to turn.

Yet
in the snow
and sunlight
how resplendent!
how firm and delicate
at once!
how memorable
yet transitory
how worthy to be carried
(as it will)
from age to age,
this moment,
here recorded
of a winged thing
at a cross-roads.

—Bob Lax

Whose ox gets fed?

I wish Kevin Kelly hadn't been so ambivalent about his support for the minimum wage ["A Minimal Gesture," June 1]. The minimum wage may not be our most important economic issue, but to downplay its effect by saying it would affect only the "tiniest portion" (2.5 percent of the workforce) is to miss its importance altogether. I don't know how many families would be included in that 2.5 percent, but I'll bet that raising their income is not unimportant to them. It may mean the difference between self-sufficiency and dependence on welfare.

Kelly also overlooks the impact that raising the minimum wage will have on other wages, which can be expected to rise as employers attempt to recruit and retain more skilled workers. As for job losses occasioned by a higher minimum wage, the greater good would benefit even though a few may temporarily be unemployed. And when those so affected find new jobs, at least they will be better able to support their families.

Why is it that when corporations downsize, the resulting large-scale loss of jobs is justified on the ground that it maintains corporate financial stability, but when attempts are made to secure financial stability for workers by raising the minimum wage, the main reason for opposition is that it will lead to job loss?

Rather than parsing "a dizzying array of studies" on the issue, we should ask families trying to survive on the current minimum wage whether they can afford to pay the rent, provide three meals a day, purchase clothing, and take themselves or their children to a doctor when they get sick. Raising the minimum wage is no cure-all, but it's certainly a healthy start.

JOAN B. WILLIAMS
Milwaukee, Wis.

No time to surrender

I find I agree with almost everything Msgr. Francis J. Maniscalco said in his letter [Correspondence, June 1] about my *Commonweal* column of May 17. I do disagree, however, with

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COMMONWEAL

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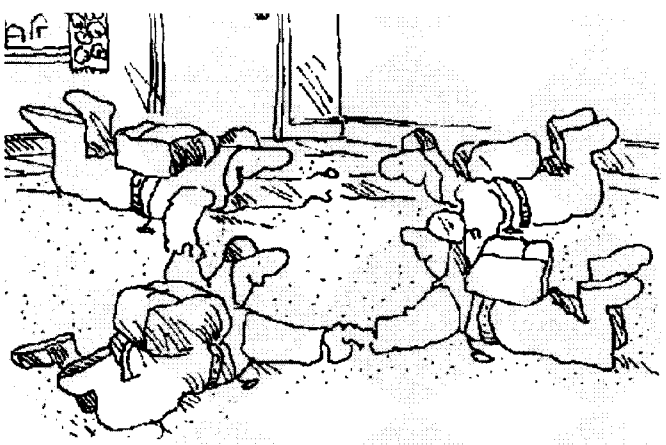

I think once we get over our fear of heights, we'll be really good."

SHORT TAKES

I can't back Clinton
John T. Joyce
A labor union leader protests the president's veto of the Partial-Birth Abortion Bill. Yet, in conscience, he cannot support candidate Bob Dole. He writes, "If we cannot reverse the current pressures threatening the absolute value of human life, we cannot ultimately succeed in the struggle for human rights and worker rights." 8

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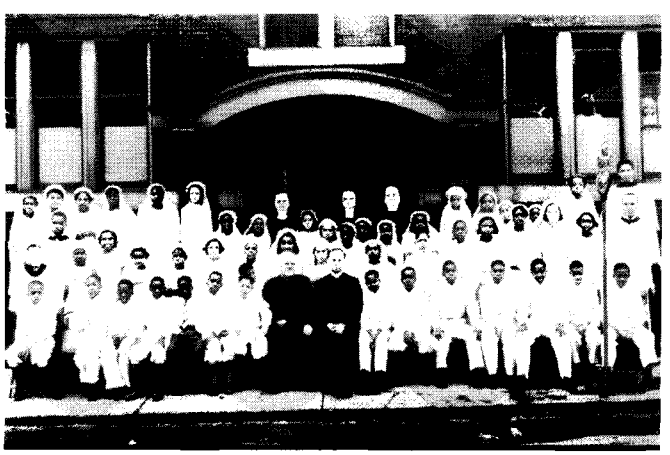

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one thing: his notion that he is disagreeing with something I wrote. He seems to imagine I said Catholics should give up the fight. In fact I said exactly the opposite, that we should recognize how hostile the dominant culture is and begin to fight. I spoke about a "wake-up call," not a call to abandon ship.

I think he was responding not to my argument but to the column's headline, "Face It, We've Lost." Normally I love the titles you put on my columns; they're much wittier than anything I could think up. But if the letter in question is a reliable indicator, this time the title may have been misleading. DAVID R. CARLIN, JR.
Newport, R.I.

Bipartisan? Well....

Msgr. Francis J. Maniscalco takes satisfaction [Correspondence, June 1] from what he calls "strong bipartisan support" in the Congress for banning partial-birth abortions.

Eighty percent of the Democrats in the Senate and 60 percent of House Democrats voted against the bill banning such abortions. Eighty-five percent of Senate Republicans and 93 percent of House Republicans voted for the bill.

Your readers can judge whether this voting pattern justifies the judgment that the bill (which the president vetoed) drew "strong bipartisan support" in the Congress.

WILLIAM B. PENDERGAST
McLean, Va.

Doing right by Dubus

A good review of a good book is a gift. Thanks to Neal Dolan for his excellent job of telling us about *Dancing after Hours* by Andre Dubus [May 17]. An ardent reader of Dubus, I hope many readers will discover his greatness. And I'll bet that Neal Dolan is a great teacher, too.

BEN HOGAN, O.CARM.
Niagara Falls, Ont.

Gordon's gift

I'm unhappy with the review of Mary Gordon's memoir, *The Shadow Man*, in the issue of May 17. It's been roughly twenty years since Gordon published her wonderful *Final Payments*. How giving of her now to entrust us with this mother lode of memories, the unconscious matrix, as it were, from which sprang such lines as the father's telling the daughter, "I love you more than God does," and such incidents as the lover marking pages in a book with hairs from his nose.

PAULA SAYERS
Germantown, Md.

What a reviewer missed

Timothy A. Byrnes rather startled me with his review [June 1] of my book *Changing Witness: Catholic Bishops and Public Policy, 1917-1994*. I could swear I had mentioned the bishops' opposition to abortion, and I certainly did not remember placing "the controversy surrounding the place of abortion on the church's agenda outside the parameters" of my history.

When I checked the index of names at the back of *Changing Witness*, sure enough, there was no entry for "abortion." But then I actually thumbed through the book and found the issue mentioned on page after page. Mr. Byrnes could have read, for instance, of the National Council of Catholic Bishops' reaction to *Roe* v. *Wade*, of the United States Catholic Conference secretariat's protest against then-Archbishop Bernardin's 1976 "endorsement" of President Gerald Ford, and of the NCCB's leaders' subsequent reluctance to press the issue in the late 1970s. I also wrote quite a bit on the debates surrounding the Consistent Ethic of Life in the early 1980s, on the bishops' comments on the *Webster* and *Casey* decisions, and on the NCCB's opposition to abortion coverage in President Clinton's proposed health-care reforms. Mr. Byrnes obviously read the concluding chapter of my book; perhaps he missed these earlier pages.

Or perhaps Mr.Byrnes just dislikes my approach, which naturally differs somewhat from his own. He has examined the bishops as political actors; I have examined them collectively as political thinkers. Where he sees individual bishops active in the fight against abortion (an obvious fact that *Changing Witness* never questioned), I see the published statements of the bishops' conference that indeed demonstrate the NCCB's reluctance to fight the abortion battle "unless forced to do so in the context of some other issue." Neither Mr. Byrnes's approach nor mine is "ideologically driven," despite the divergence of our conclusions.

While we are discussing objectivity, Mr. Byrnes might find the answers to some of his rhetorical questions if he would consult my critical but polite review [*Crisis*, July 1992] of his useful 1991 book *Catholic Bishops in American Politics*. Perhaps he missed that issue too. But no matter; I am sure the editors of *Commonweal* will give me another chance to voice my comments when they ask me to review Mr. Byrnes's next book. MICHAEL WARNER
Wheaton, Md.

The editors reply: If Mr. Warner's book is as insinuating as his letter, we can hardly wait to read it. Of course we were not aware that Mr. Warner had reviewed Mr. Byrnes's book. Neither, we are assured, was Mr. Byrnes.

The reviewer replies:

For the record, I neither said, nor even implied, that Mr. Warner failed completely to mention the bishops' opposition to abortion. What I did say, to quote myself, was that Mr. Warner writes "as though abortion has not been a major focus of the bishops' attention recently," and by that judgment I most definitely stand.

Mr. Warner's argument in *Changing Witness* is that over the past three decades or so the bishops have aban-

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An archbishop speaks up

Readers will find Archbishop John Quinn's remarkable Campion Hall centennial lecture, delivered last month at Oxford, printed in its entirety beginning on page 11. Though its length may appear forbidding, we encourage those concerned about the future of the Catholic church to read the archbishop's measured, yet urgent analysis of the papacy, the prospects for Christian unity, and the sometimes even more difficult search for comity among Catholics themselves. A response to Pope John Paul II's encyclical *Ut unum sint*, Quinn's faithful deliberations are both brave and humbling.

It will not be surprising if readers have mixed reactions to the speech: gratitude for the author's fair-minded intelligence and truth-telling, and apprehension about the ways the archbishop's remarks may be distorted by those who equate open debate with disloyalty. Archbishop Quinn has suffered in the past for his honesty. Indeed, it is saddening, but sadly understandable, that he must preemptively mount a defense of both his loyalty to the church and his orthodoxy in order to offer a nuanced and obviously heartfelt critique of an institution and community to which he has devoted his life. If Archbishop Quinn's remarks are judged insubordinate or subversive, it is hard to imagine what sort of episcopal relationship Rome or its more fevered cheerleaders can honestly want short of abject servility.

Quinn makes many telling observations and suggestions, including headline-catching proposals to reform the Roman curia and convene an ecumenical council to coincide with the millennium. Reforming the curia is, as the saying goes, a project for the ages—one that Quinn notes has been overdue since before the Reformation. Still, in an age of modern communications and travel and concomitant bureaucratic centralization, the curia's usurpation of episcopal authority is a greater danger than ever.

A third Vatican council may prove a healing and providential sign of unity for Catholics as well as other Christians. As Quinn suggests, the regular convening of councils might also help bring about a renewed sense of how the bishops and the pope in fact share in a single authority. But whatever the response to these suggestions, it should not divert attention from the fundamental issues of collegiality Quinn takes such pains to illuminate.

In this regard, the former archbishop of San Francisco argues that while Pope John Paul II is often eager to "collaborate" with his fellow bishops, true collegiality entails something more substantive than collaboration. Initiative in church governance must not rest solely with the pope. A willingness to think of hierarchical authority arising at many levels within the church and a recognition of the need to exercise that authority with prudence and pastoral understanding are necessities little appreciated in many Roman quarters today. Other churches, Quinn candidly warns, look at how Rome deals with its own bishops and with diversity in pastoral and theological practice, and are skeptical about the costs of reunification. If the papacy is to become an effective sign and tool of Christian unity, the legitimate authority of local bishops and bishops' conferences must be re-

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In keeping with *Commonweal*'s usual schedule, only one issue is published each month during July and August. The next issue will be dated August 16.

spected. Citing the promulgation of the *Catechism*, the agendas of international synods, and especially the appointment of bishops as examples of Rome's overreaching, Quinn reminds us that "bishops are not mere legates of the pope"; that "a collegiality which consists largely in embracing decisions which have been made by higher authority is a very attenuated collegiality."

No one doubts the complexity or the political delicacy of many of the issues that Archbishop Quinn would have the church address more forthrightly. Fair-minded Christians and others can disagree about contraception, divorce, homosexuality, priestly celibacy, inclusive language, the ordination of women, and even the nature of papal infallibility. Indeed, at times the contemporary Catholic church seems more a sign of disunity than of anything else. Yet the ecclesial vision laid out by Archbishop Quinn is as orthodox as it is subtle and confident. For those with eyes to see and ears to hear, this plea for the church to take up a more parliamentary approach to episcopal decision making and to adopt a less defensive attitude to the challenges of our time—especially with regard to the role of women—is itself a sign of unity. Archbishop Quinn's response to the pope is a true gift of collegial loyalty and devotion.

NOTEBOOK

Paul Baumann

WHERE'S PAPA?

A shiva candle on the stove

A shiva candle, with its emphatic blue Jewish star, burned in our kitchen for seven days and nights last month. My father-in-law, Max Horst Segall, died in Florida in the last week in May, and when my wife returned from the funeral she placed the candle on the stovetop (every home's holy of holies) and lit it.

This was unexpected; my wife is not observant, or in any outward way religious at all. Her parents, Holocaust survivors from Berlin, were courteous enough about the religious practices of others, but not believers themselves. In private, Max could be scornful of religious customs, especially if they smacked of superstition or priestcraft (rabbis were included in this category). But, then, Max was scornful of many things, from his perennially disappointing Chicago Blackhawks to the perennially disappointing Democratic party. I wondered what he would think of the shiva candle. I confess I rather liked it, but I have a cultic weakness for smells and bells and small pious gestures.

Max was not a sentimental or demonstratively affectionate man. God knows, he and his wife (who survives him, but struggles with Parkinson's) had been through nearly every imaginable horror during the war. I wrote the following lines for his obituary in our local paper: "Mr. Segall was deported from Germany to Poland by the Nazis in 1938. He was later joined in Poland by his wife and together they managed to avoid detection and capture during the Holocaust. Early in 1944, they returned to Germany under false identities. 'I figured,' Mr. Segall said, 'that the last place the Nazis would look for two Jews was in Germany.'"

Max talked about the war only occasionally, and he was always parsimonious with details. I surmise they survived thanks to luck, shrewdness, bribery, and help from those who hid them. He had a complicated regard for Germany and for Germans. One of the reasons he survived, he told me, was that he could, when questioned, pass as a "German." He could outwit the Nazis, he said, because he knew how Germans did things. He decided to return to Berlin in 1944 because he thought the Russians (then advancing across Poland) were "crazy" (one of his favorite designations), but he knew "how to handle the Germans."

One measure of how well he understood the Germans was his decision to make the trip from Warsaw to Berlin over the long Easter weekend. "I thought they would be more relaxed on Easter....They would be in a festive mood," he told me proudly, describing how he and his wife walked unquestioned for miles down the nearly deserted boulevards of Berlin that Easter morning in 1944.

Max's Easter reprieve is a sobering irony, to say the least. We talked about Christianity and the Holocaust a few times. He did not hesitate to credit individual Christians for helping him and his wife. Institutional Christianity was another matter. I made the argument that Christianity was not intrinsically anti-Semitic. He was skeptical. "Just tell me," he said, "who killed Christ?" I responded by contextualizing like mad. He listened, patiently, but remained unpersuaded. "As long as Christianity teaches that the Jews killed Christ," he concluded, "Jews have a problem."

I don't pretend to have a very good answer to Max's challenge—my answers always seemed too abstract and idealized. I thought about the conundrum of Christian-Jewish history many times as the shiva candle's light cast its shadows across our kitchen at night, and I've thought about it every time I've had the nerve to answer my children's predictable questions with the astounding assertion: "Papa is with God now."

God talk, it is often said, is at best a way to speak about what we cannot finally comprehend. □

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ABIGAIL McCARTHY

ALL TOGETHER NOW

Going it alone won't do

The question was posed to me over twenty-five years ago but I remember it as if I'd heard it for the first time yesterday. I was at cocktails on a balcony in Miami with casual acquaintances—New Yorkers known to my traveling companion. They quizzed me as to what I was doing and I had talked of my work on the boards of several women's organizations. The hostess broke out in seeming exasperation, "But why do you do that? Why do you give your time to these, these—" she faltered for a descriptive word—"*these groups?*"

I was stunned. It had never occurred to me that there were people who did not think it normal to behave in the way de Tocqueville saw as quintessentially American—to form groups, to join groups, and to tackle problems cooperatively. But I tried to answer, "It's my tradition, I suppose. My mother, my grandmother, belonged to women's groups. My aunts joined unions, collectors' clubs, art clubs. It seems natural to me—to reach out to others of like interests and purpose."

She was having none of it. To her mind spending time in organizations and working on their agendas depleted one's creative energies and robbed one of the cultural benefits of leisure. The root of her point of view—essentially an elitist one—probably lay in her European background. The government existed to take care of common interests; there was no need for intervening groups between the individual and the state.

I thought her attitude very strange then. Today it would not seem so strange.

For better or worse and for different reasons we have become a nation of nonjoiners. We are all aware of the results of the recent sociological research that the tendency to isolation or extreme individualism has extended even to bowlers, many of whom now prefer to bowl alone rather than join a bowling league! Volunteer organizations have to rely largely on retirees. Every private club I know is struggling, without much success, to attract younger members. What has happened to the nation where, as de Tocqueville described it, organized groups were the norm and every community was crisscrossed with their networks? He held, as Seymour Martin Lipset writes, that "Americans are encouraged to press for their objectives through individual or organized group action, not to accept their lot or to hope for remedy from an established upper class...."

Again and again in our history those who suffered from inequality and isolation were lifted from it through groups. For women this goes back to the days of the Puritans in the Massachusetts Bay Colony when women immured in the home sought companionship and inspiration at the prayer meetings and discussions in Anne Hutchinson's parlor. It goes back to the quilting bees and potluck gatherings of pioneer women. And from the middle of the nineteenth century until the present, women became a force in society and eventually full members via group movements. Women were attracted to reform activities and, in doing so, discovered their own inferior status and began to work for equality.

In the introduction of her *Women Together*, Judith Papachriston writes: "Three periods of intense activity stand out: the first began in 1848 and extended into the 1870s; the second, which saw women achieve the vote, stretched from about 1890 to 1920; and the last, the contemporary phase, began in the late 1960s. Each of these periods had its origins in a time of national reform. Before the Civil War, abolitionists agitated on behalf of black slaves; in the Progressive era, in the early decades of the twentieth century, social workers, muckrakers, and reformers spoke out for the victims of industrialization and slum life; and in the 1950s and 1960s, protesters called attention to minority and poverty groups denied civil rights and economic opportunity."

The function of groups in helping minorities achieve equality can be cited again and again. Fraternal insurance groups—really burial societies—gave poor immigrants a focus, some economic security, and a means of socialization. Funeral societies did the same among blacks in the South. The great achievements of the various forms of the labor movement are so obvious as hardly to need mentioning.

But as important as groups were in building equality, their effect on character

"Excuse me, is this place taken?"

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was equally important. They were a means of integration into the larger community, and a way of merging individual interests with those of the larger society. They enlarged identities—our sense of who we were. For those of my generation and even the generation of my children (now adults with children of their own), to become part of groups was as natural as breathing. First came the neighborhood play groups—playing softball, organizing games of "chase" with great choosing of sides going on through the summer twilights. Then, like our parents who belonged to the Women's Club, the Newman Club, the Masons, or the Knights of Columbus, the Rotary and the PTAs, we joined organized entities like the Boy or Girl Scouts, the Junior Women's Club, the 4-H Club, and the Future Farmers. Later, volunteerism became a way of life; private clubs became a measure of achievement, as did professional organizations.

That substructure of community, the network of organizations, is now at risk. It still functions in small communities but is falling apart in the urban sprawl. What tore it apart? The answers are various. Organizations can age. Their original purpose may vanish and they can become obsolete unless they are revitalized by leadership with new vision. In the sixties there was a severe reaction against those groups and clubs viewed as elitist and exclusionary—from golf clubs and the DAR to college fraternities and sororities. In the seventies the new feminists attacked the concept of men's clubs or women's clubs, whether social or professional.

Perhaps the most pernicious cause of all is the turning in on self caused by technology—especially television and computer technology. We have all experienced the distracted mutter of the person who is watching television while talking to us on the phone. We know people who find it hard to welcome real persons as visitors because they are so caught up in the characters of a favorite sitcom. With the burgeoning of the personal computers and the Internet a new addiction has developed. On the day I write this, the morning paper carried a letter in an advice column for adolescents from a teen-ager with a pressing problem: "For the longest time I have been addicted to using the computer. I use it on average ten hours a day five times a week." The letter is signed—"Needs help." Advice columns for adults have, for the last year or so, carried letters from distraught men and women whose spouses have fallen in love with people on the Internet. These people do not have time for, or interest in, the people closest to them, let alone the community-at-large.

Our nation is falling apart. It is time we give serious thought to gluing it together. □

Correction ■ In Abigail McCarthy's previous column [June 1] Iqbal Masih's name was misspelled. *Commonweal* apologizes for the error: not watching our gs and qs.

John T. Joyce

I CAN'T BACK CLINTON

A union leader consults his conscience

For the first time in my life as a trade unionist, my personal convictions place me in conflict with the immediate economic needs of workers and the near-term institutional needs of unions. In short, I can no longer support President Bill Clinton's bid for reelection.

My dilemma begins with Clinton's April veto of the Partial-Birth Abortion Bill. The ban on partial-birth abortions would have outlawed a particularly gruesome procedure customarily performed late in pregnancy. The bill allowed the procedure to be used if needed to save the life of the mother, but Clinton insisted that that exception be broadened to include the mother's health. An exception for "health," of course, is another way of permitting abortion-on-demand.

In the aftermath of Clinton's veto, two things are clear to me as someone who has spent his life in the union movement:

First, the election of Bob Dole as president and the return of a Republican Congress will be ruinous for working people. A Republican sweep—with the subsequent appointment of Republican federal policy makers, regulators, and judges—will continue the erosion in real earnings of working people, further the deterioration of job and safety conditions, and damage the already imperiled collective bargaining process. A Republican victory, I fear, will result in a further polarization along racial and economic lines of an already dangerously split society.

Second, Clinton's veto of the Partial-Birth Abortion Bill permits an unborn child to be killed even though the mother's life is not at risk.

The first conclusion demands that I vigorously work for the reelection of Clinton and Vice-President Albert Gore, along with the election of senators and representatives—whether Republican or Democrat—who are not simply flunkies of business interests. However, if I support someone who does not take every step humanly possible to prevent abortions, I practically condone such actions, and, to some degree, become complicit in the act of killing unborn human beings.

I realize that abortion is a philosophically subtle issue. It seems true to me that there is no sure way to know exactly when embryonic life becomes specifically human. "Human life" doesn't happen at a specific moment, but rather is something that develops and evolves—the fetus becomes *increasingly human* during the early stages of pregnancy. I accept the large element of uncertainty built into this view, yet because we are dealing with human life, I think the only prudent conclusion is to act on the presumption that human life begins at conception.

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At the same time, I also recognize that pervasive and persistent pressures for abortion come from a consumer culture which places the highest apparent value on self-gratification, a culture increasingly desensitized to violence, a culture more and more disposed to favor economic considerations over human considerations—in short, a culture deeply hostile to traditional religious belief. In such a culture moral confusion abounds, and it is easy for me to believe that a woman in the early stages of pregnancy can arrive at a morally correct decision *for her* to abort an unborn infant. I have therefore been opposed to criminalizing abortions in the early stages of pregnancy. I have reached this decision not because I agree with the Supreme Court's reasons for its *Roe* v. *Wade* ruling, but because I simply do not believe our criminal justice system is capable of making the very fine moral distinctions involved in so many early-term abortions. It seems to me that a religious or morally responsible person might leave judgments on those acts to God.

But surely we can draw a line somewhere. While I do not know exactly where that line should be, the abortions permitted by the president's veto are well beyond it. There is no question that human life is taken in the abortions banned by the Partial-Birth Abortion Bill.The medical testimony before Congress outlining in devastating detail the body contortions and expressions of pain on the face of the partially delivered baby as it is killed by the doctor make that fact hauntingly evident.

Against that reality, the arguments supporting abortion based on the notion that only independently viable life should be protected by law are chilling sophistries, and the argument based on "choice" is inane drivel.

Because this issue is so highly charged, some have accused the president of vetoing the bill for "political reasons" as part of his reelection strategy. To be fair, I don't see any evidence to support such a charge. An issue this complicated and this emotional is too volatile to predict politically, and the president was bound to be hurt no matter what he did. Indeed, on the face of it, the veto is a net loser for the president. The feminist vote was not likely to shift to Dole. It is more likely that some who were solid supporters of the president, and a lot of people who were tilting toward him, will now either shift to Dole or sit on their hands in November.

The president knew that in vetoing the bill he was creating some new enemies for himself and giving enemies old and new an issue with enormous potential for energizing a chunk of swing voters against him in key states, especially among Catholic ethnics. In short, the veto was a very high-risk, very low-gain gamble.

So I see no reason to challenge the president's sincerity on this issue. Despite the mawkish and manipulative White House veto ceremony, despite the intellectually vapid rationale offered for the veto, the president deserves credit for the courage of his convictions, such as they are. In my view, the president had the "right reasons"—in the sense that they were reasons of conscience rather than political expediency—for doing the wrong thing.

A former fighter pilot once told me that the most important principle drummed into him during his training was "Never allow yourself to get into a position from which you cannot recover." Clinton has violated that tenet. If the presidential race should close up, the hired guns of the Dole campaign and like-minded "independent" political action groups will have no trouble blowing the president out of the sky on this veto. As a consequence, the kindest political service his fellow Democrats in Congress can now perform for the president is to override his veto.

Another alternative might be for the president and the Democrats who support him to introduce their own bill—one which bars abortion after the first trimester and narrowly limits the exceptions to those situations where the risk to the mother's life is raised to unacceptable levels *or* where there is a sound medical determination that the child in the mother's womb cannot survive.

The president has thus far indicated only that he would "work" with Congress *if* the legislature came up with a bill that permitted partial-birth abortions necessary to protect the mother's health. This would eliminate the "risk to life" standard set by the current bill and render the bill meaningless. The courts have already ruled that "health" includes such conditions as emotional stress.

The president responds that he means "serious" threats to the mother's health, but given the inherent risks in preg-

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nancy—despite advances in medical science and practice—what "serious" threats does he have in mind that would not place the mother's life at risk? He has made it clear that protection of the mother's ability to bear children in the future is one of his concerns. This, however, gives us the moral absurdity of killing one child in order for the mother to bear another. In any event, throwing the issue back to Congress simply isn't good enough—it looks and feels like a way of ducking the moral question.

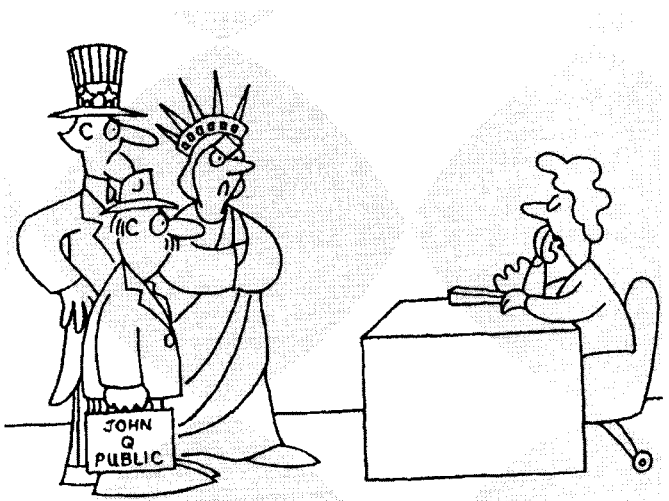
This perception is reinforced by the White House press release on the president's veto. It says in one place that the president opposes abortion-on-demand, and in another place that the decision is up to the mother, her doctor, and God. In other words, according to the press release the president supports all sides of the argument.

If the veto stands, which is likely, and if the Democrats and the White House don't come up with an adequate bill of their own, then I continue as a person without a party. I've already resigned as co-chairman of the Labor Advisory Council to the Democratic National Committee. For the first time in my political life, I am a person without a candidate.

But just as I cannot in conscience support the president, neither could I support Bob Dole. Dole has promised his antiunion backers that he would introduce a national "Right to Work" law in this session of Congress, and he and most of his Republican colleagues are trying to repeal the Davis-Bacon law, even as they try to bring back company unions through the "Team Act." Furthermore, as an integral part of the presidential and congressional campaigns, the Republican party has already launched a major and vicious attack on trade unions in the guise of attacking trade union leaders.

If the Republicans retain control of Congress, they will pass antiunion legislation that will make the Taft-Hartley Act look like the *Magna Carta*. With a Republican in the White House there will be no one to veto that legislation.

Furthermore, if those of us in trade unions are right on occupational safety and health concerns, on the need for full employment, a living wage, and adequate health care, then opposition to these measures raises questions of life and death, and of the nature of the life that we live in this society, in much the way that abortion does. Yet, many who profess to be opposed to abortion are also opposed to funding alternatives to abortion and to measures that would reduce the economic pressures pushing many women to seek abortions.



"Mr. Clinton, it appears you've been stepping on some toes again."

Indeed, many who share my views on abortion will nonetheless conclude that Bill Clinton is the "lesser of the evils." While I respect this conclusion, it is not one I can share. For me, the question is "If not here, where? If not now, when?" When there can be no reasonable doubt that the life of an unborn human being is at stake, we must draw a line—or else we lose our moral authority to act to protect human life, and the quality of that life, when it is threatened elsewhere.

I said at the outset that for the first time in my life I find myself in a position where my personal convictions lead to a conflict with the interests of the working people I represent. But that's true only at the most superficial level, for the struggle against abortion and against economic exploitation is really the same struggle. Protecting workers' rights in this country and abroad is really just a part—in my view the most vital part, but nonetheless just a part—of the larger struggle to advance human rights generally. At the most fundamental level, the future depends on the value that society places on every human person.

If we cannot reverse the current pressures threatening the absolute value of human life, we cannot ultimately succeed in the struggle for human rights and worker rights. The society that says it's "O.K." to kill unborn humans because they are handicapped or inconvenient, the society that euthanizes the old because they are uneconomical, is the same society that says it's "O.K." to dump workers on the economic trash heap by importing goods made by exploited labor abroad. That same society increasingly says it's "O.K." to cut real wages or safety conditions to save a couple of pennies on a shirt, or a couple of bucks on a car or a house—or to make a small number of incredibly rich people even richer. That same society is even close to saying that working people are not entitled to band together to secure a voice in determining their wages, hours, and the conditions under which they will work.

Considering what is at stake in the forthcoming election, the reasons for doing nothing and saying nothing about Clinton's abortion policy are many and obvious, but none of them squares with my conscience, or my sense of why I do what I've been doing over the years.

If I am correct in concluding that the president followed his conscience on this issue, then he set a good example for the rest of us regardless of where we stand on this difficult question. □

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THE EXERCISE OF THE PRIMACY

Facing the cost of Christian unity

John R. Quinn

I acknowledge with profound gratitude the honor that has come to me through the invitation of Father Munitiz, Master of Campion Hall, to give this centennial lecture. It gives me the opportunity to express my great admiration for those splendid, storied Jesuits who, for a century now, have served the Church with such distinction at Campion Hall in the heart of Oxford.

But I must also say how deeply moving it is to me that this lecture takes place at Oxford which is hallowed by such poignant and treasured memories of Cardinal Newman and his journey *ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem*. I hear again the distant voices of eager students echoing over more than a century and a half their confident proclamation, *Credo in Newmanum!*

The Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, observed today, turns our thoughts to Rome. And this centennial, by a double title, brings us very naturally to considerations of the papacy. The patron of Campion Hall, Edmond Campion of the Society of Jesus, was put to death precisely because he would not repudiate the primacy of the pope. In addition, the Society of Jesus traces its very foundation to its fourth vow linking it to the pope. It is eminently fitting, then, that on this centennial we should take up a complex and challenging invitation issued recently by Pope John Paul II.

I. The Challenge of John Paul II

In his 1995 Encyclical Letter, *Ut Unum Sint*, on ecumenism, Pope John Paul II has this to say about the papacy:

> ...[T]he Catholic Church's conviction that in the ministry of the Bishop of Rome she has preserved, in fidelity to the Apostolic Tradition and the faith of the Fathers, the visible sign and guarantor of unity, constitutes a difficulty for most other Christians, whose memory is marked by certain painful recollections. To the extent that we are responsible for these, I join my Predecessor, Paul VI, in asking forgiveness.[1]

The pope plainly admits that there have been painful things which have wounded unity among Christians, and that together with others, the popes must accept some responsibility for them. This frank admission and the request for forgiveness place the pope in the line of Peter, the penitent. A study of early Christian art reveals that, after Christ, one of the most frequent images found in the first centuries is the image of Peter, Peter weeping for his sins.[2] The pope here identifies himself with that Peter who acknowledges and weeps for his sins.

He then goes on to cite his remarks to the Patriarch of Constantinople:

> I insistently pray the Holy Spirit to shine his light upon us, enlightening all the Pastors and theologians of our Churches, that we may seek—together, of course—the forms in which this ministry [of Peter] may accomplish a service of love recognized by all concerned.[3]

Then the pope issues this challenge:

> This is an immense task, which we cannot refuse and which I cannot carry out by myself. Could not the real but imperfect communion existing between us persuade Church leaders and their theologians to engage with me in a patient and fraternal dialogue in which, leaving useless controversies behind, we could listen to one another, keeping before us only the will of Christ for his church...?[4]

The object of the dialogue as the pope describes it is "...to find a way of exercising the primacy, which while in no way renouncing what is essential to its mission, is nonetheless open to a new situation."[5]

Rooted in the scholarly work of historians and theologians, there are doctrinal and historical questions about the papacy which have been discussed in the official dialogues among the churches for some thirty years. But the pope here introduces a new and important question: the "forms" of the papal ministry, "a way of exercising the primacy...open to a new situation." Thus the pope distinguishes between the substance of the papal office—"what is essential to its mission"—and the style of the papal office—the historically conditioned forms in which it has been embodied.

The pope himself, in apostolic discernment, sees that there must be new forms of exercising the primacy as the Church approaches the threshold of a new millennium. He calls the Christian family to look at how the gift which is the papacy can become more credible and speak more effectively to the contemporary world.

Those, of course, who respond to the request of the pope, must bear in mind the paradoxical nature of the project they are undertaking. The Holy Father asks for public consider-

Archbishop John R. Quinn *is visiting fellow at Campion Hall, Oxford. This lecture was given on June 29, 1996 at Oxford on the occasion of Campion Hall's centennial.*

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ation of new forms in which the Petrine ministry can be embodied and exercised. But one can only advance the need for new forms if the past or current forms are evaluated as inadequate. To consider inadequacy seriously is to embark upon careful criticism. This obviously must be done if one is to give attentive and loyal response to the papal request. But that very response, which issues out of an obediential hearing, can be misread as carping negativity, a distancing of oneself from the Holy See. Exactly the opposite is true. The pope has asked us for an honest and serious critique. He has every right to expect that this call will be heard and that this response will be especially forthcoming from those who recognize and reverence the primacy of the Roman Pontiff—as the Church searches out the will of God in the new millennium that is before us.

The "new situation" is shaped by the shattering of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Communist dictatorships, by the awakening of China and her movement into the political and economic world of the twentieth century, by the movement toward unification in Europe, by a new and spreading consciousness of the dignity of woman, by the arrival of an immense cultural diversity in the Church, by the insistent thirst for unity among Christians. This new situation is not only political, economic, cultural and technological. It is marked as well by a new psychology. People think differently, react differently, have new aspirations, a new sense of what is possible, new hopes and dreams. In the Church there is a new consciousness of the dignity conferred by Baptism and the responsibility for the mission of the Church rooted in Baptism.

The "new situation" is also one in which the Church confronts great challenges. It is estimated that by the year 2000 there will be more than fifty million internally displaced persons and refugees in the world. The gap between the wealthy and the poor nations is growing. There is real danger that Africa may become a marginalized continent. Large numbers of Catholics are turning to sects or non-Christian religions.

The "new situation" for the primacy is indeed comparable to the situation which confronted the primitive Church when it abandoned the requirements of the Mosaic Law and embraced the mission to the gentiles. This action required immense courage, vision and sacrifice. It was an uncharted path, a major change. There were grave reasons for keeping the Mosaic Law, not least of which was the fact that Our Lord himself had observed it. Yet trusting in the Holy Spirit, the Apostles made that momentous decision. There was intense and bitter opposition to it, so much so that some scholars believe that there is founded evidence to show that it was ultraconservative members of the Christian community at Rome, opposed to the changes Peter and Paul had introduced, who denounced them to the Roman authorities and brought about their arrest and execution.[6] Similarly today, there are strong divisions within the Church and accompanying pressures pulling in conflicting directions. The decisions required by the "new situation" will be exacting and costly.

The Church and the papacy in particular have to respond to this "new situation" and Pope John Paul II courageously asks the question of how the primacy can be exercised in a way that is open to this great cosmic drama.

My experience as a bishop for some thirty years, as President of the American Episcopal Conference, as Pontifical Delegate for Religious Life in the United States and as member of a Pontifical Commission to deal with problems in the Archdiocese of Seattle, has involved close and frequent interaction with the pope and with the offices of the Holy See. It is in light of this personal experience that I want to propose my response to the pope's invitation to rethink with him the style and manner of exercising the papal ministry "open to a new situation." First I will deal with my personal experience of the papacy. Then I will take up the need for structural reform, followed by some reflections on the Roman curia. In light of this I will make some observations about collegiality and the teaching, sanctifying and governing office of bishops with specific reference to the principle of subsidiarity in the Church. Finally, I will touch on the fundamental imperative in the search for a new primacy in a new situation, the imperative of the Will of God and its bearing on the search for unity.

II. My Personal Experience of the Papacy

When he appointed me as Pontifical Delegate for Religious Life in 1983, Pope John Paul told me that he had a very personal interest in this issue and that he wanted me to report directly to him and to come see him often. As a result I did visit Rome frequently and when I requested it I was received by the pope at once and given all the time I needed. During these visits I was quite frank with him about my own views and convictions and set down my proposals for action with precision and clarity. In no instance did the pope reject my proposals or impose any preordained mode of action on me. He himself frequently spoke of the work as an act of collegiality. I found the experience to be in fact a brotherly collaboration in which the pope entrusted responsibility to me and supported me in carrying it out even in the face of some opposition both in the curia and in the United States.

From 1987 to 1989, when I was a participant with two American cardinals on a papal Commission charged to resolve problems in the Archdiocese of Seattle, I had a similar experience. At times there were differing views between the officials of the Holy See and our Commission about what course to follow. Differing viewpoints were expressed forthrightly and with candor by all the participants in our meetings with the pope. The pope listened carefully to all sides of the issue, but, in the end, almost without exception, endorsed the position of the Commission.

These examples show that the pope thinks in collaborative terms and that his personal style is marked by openness to ask for help and a willingness to listen. Yet these are instances not so much of collegiality as they are of collabora-

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tion by bishops in a task undertaken by the pope at his initiative. But in *Ut Unum Sint* he specifically mentions collegiality:

> When the Catholic Church affirms that the office of the Bishop of Rome corresponds to the will of Christ, she does not separate this office from the mission entrusted to the whole body of bishops, who are also "vicars and ambassadors of Christ." The Bishop of Rome is a member of the "College," and the bishops are his brothers in the ministry.[7]

The unity of which the pope is the sign and the guarantor is first realized and expressed in his relationship with the College of Bishops. This collegial unity is the fundamental paradigm for all the other ways in which the pope is the sign and guarantor of unity. In other words, the style and "way of exercising the primacy" in relationship to the College of Bishops determines in a primordial way all the other moments of unity of which the pope is guarantor and sign. And so collaboration by bishops with the pope in a task he specifically entrusts to them is not the full measure of collegiality. "Collegiality" is predicated of the bishops precisely because—with the pope—they have from Christ a true responsibility for the whole Church. Hence bishops by this fact have the responsibility from Christ to take initiative in bringing forward problems and possibilities for the mission of the Church. Collegiality does not exist in its fullest sense if bishops are merely passive recipients of papal directives and initiatives. Bishops are not only *sub Petro*. They are also *cum Petro*.

III. Moral Versus Structural Reform

To ask the question about new ways of exercising the primacy "open to a new situation" is to raise the issue of the reform of the papacy. Yves Congar, the distinguished theologian, named cardinal late in life, has pointed out the inadequacy of a purely "moral" reform, by which I understand him to mean an attitudinal reform. He believes that any true and effective reform must touch structures. He goes on to observe the lesson of history that personal holiness of itself is not sufficient to bring about a change and that great holiness has existed in the very midst of situations that cried out for change.

But he comes to a fundamental and inescapable challenge when he raises the question of why reform-minded men and women of the Middle Ages in fact missed the rendezvous with opportunity. Why did so little happen when there was such a general thirst for reform? Among other things, he cites their penchant for focusing on this or that specific abuse such as concubinage, failure of canons to fulfill their obligations in singing the office in choir, the notorious failure of bishops to live in or even visit their dioceses.

Most of those who wanted reform, he said, were prisoners of the system, incapable of reforming the structures themselves through a recovery of the original vision, incapable of asking the new questions raised by a new situation. Reform meant to them simply putting the existing structures in order. The further, deeper, long-term questions were never asked.[8] Their vision stopped at the water's edge. The moment passed, and a wounded Church suffered incomparable tragedy.

It is these deeper, more comprehensive issues in regard to the exercise of the primacy that must be raised in the search for unity: What does a realistic desire for unity demand in terms of changes in curial structure, policy, and procedures? What do the signs of the times, the desire for unity, the doctrine of episcopal collegiality, the cultural diversity of the Church, the new technological age call for in curial reform and adaptation to what the pope calls "a new situation"? What does all this demand of the pope himself?

IV. The Roman Curia and the Search for Unity

Pope Adrian VI sent the nuncio, Chieregati, to the Diet of Nuremburg in 1522. This is an excerpt from the instruction the pope gave to him:

> You are also to say that we frankly acknowledge that God permits this persecution of His Church on account of the sins of men, and especially of prelates and clergy....Therefore, in our name, give promises that we shall use all diligence to reform before all things the Roman Curia....[9]

Here Pope Adrian affirms something which was one of the main concerns of the reform Councils of Constance and Basel, a prominent concern of the Council of Trent, Vatican Councils I and II, and which continues to be of critical importance today: the directive power of the Roman Curia, and the curia's need of reform.

One week before the opening of the second session of the Second Vatican Council, in September 1963, Paul VI himself stated the importance for the Church of a true and ongoing reform of the Roman Curia:

> We have to accept criticism with humility and reflection and admit what is justly pointed out.
>
> Rome has no need to be defensive, turning a deaf ear to observations which come from respected sources, still less, when those sources are friends and brothers.
>
> The call for modernization of juridical structures and a deepening of spiritual awareness does not meet with resistance from the center of the Church, the Roman Curia. Rather, the curia is in the front ranks of that perennial reform of which the Church itself, as a human and earthly institution, stands in continual need.[10]

Two years later, the Second Vatican Council itself explicitly called for a reform of the curia in its Decree on the Pastoral Office of Bishops in the Church.[11]

The curial system was not created by Pope John Paul II. Though the curia existed in some form since the time of Gregory I in the sixth century, it goes back, as we know it, to Pope Sixtus V in 1588. And so if we are to search for new ways of exercising the papal ministry we must go beyond the personal style of the pope and consider the curial sys-

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tem itself. The question of new forms or new ways of exercising the primacy is not only personal. It is also systemic. The curia and the pope cannot be completely separated.

It is self-evident that the pope could not fulfill his responsibilities of communion and communication with more than three thousand bishops and dioceses in a wide diversity of cultures and languages without the curia. At the same time it must be admitted that any reformulation or change the pope may personally decide to pursue can be retarded or diminished, even thwarted, by segments of the curia which may not agree with him or may have a different vision. It is a matter of record, for instance, that powerful segments of the curia strongly opposed the convocation of the Second Vatican Council.[12] Paul VI touched on this in his 1963 address to the curia telling the members of the curia that if there had been resistance and disagreement before, now was the time for the curia to give public witness to its solidarity with the pope and the aims of the council.[13] The pope is necessarily dependent to some degree on his curia for the effectiveness of his relationship with the College of Bishops and of his ministry.

My personal experience over many years in dealing with the Roman Curia has brought me to appreciate the great diversity of its makeup. I have met in the curia men and women of great intelligence, broad experience, great vision, and exemplary holiness of life. Many members of the curia serve the Church with extraordinary unselfishness and devotion and with little thanks. The Church is the beneficiary of their dedicated service.

But it is to be expected that in a curia of some three thousand people working in an array of secretariats, congregations, and tribunals, not all share these qualities to the same degree. Some are very narrow, with limited experience, especially pastoral experience. Pastoral experience can provide a hermeneutic for statutes and laws which stands between wanton disregard and blind, rigid application. Laws, conscientiously upheld, assume another, more real value when seen in terms of people with names and faces and histories and personal struggles. The understanding of human nature is a necessary condiment of wisdom.

Yet it must be honestly acknowledged that many Orthodox and other Christians are hesitant about full communion with the Holy See not so much because they see some doctrinal issues as unsolvable, not because of unfortunate and reprehensible historical events, but precisely because of the way issues are dealt with by the curia.[14] It must also be said that this is a concern all over the world. Recent events in Switzerland, Austria, Germany, and France, in Brazil, Africa, and the United States are only one indication of how widespread this concern is. The concern has to do with the appointment of bishops, the approval of documents such as *The Catechism of the Catholic Church*, the grave decline in the numbers of priests and the consequent decline in the availability of Mass for the people, the cognate issue of the celibacy of the clergy, the role of episcopal conferences, the role of women and the issue of the ordination of women. Two things are involved in these issues: the decision of the Holy See on a specific issue and the way in which these decisions are reached and implemented. For instance, are such decisions imposed without consultation with the episcopate and without appropriate dialogue? Are bishops appointed against an overwhelming objection of people and priests in a given diocese? Where the answer to these and other such questions is affirmative there are serious difficulties for Christian unity.

The importance of a major structural reform of the curia cannot be underestimated. After the internationalization effected by Paul VI and the rearrangement of some competencies, the reforms which have taken place since have been relatively minor and have been designed by members of the curia itself. The major change of outlook and structural reform which "the new situation" requires would ideally be the work of a broader constituency. A commission, for example, could be created with three presidents. One, a representative of an episcopal conference, one, a representative of the curia and the third, a lay person.

Under this three-member presidency, there could be a working commission which would include bishops, priests, religious and lay persons. The commission should be given a time line of not more than three years and should have authority to consult experts in management, government, theology, canon law, and other useful disciplines and professions. The pope and the episcopal conferences should be kept informed of the progress of the work. When it is completed and in a state which the pope indicates he could accept, the plan should be presented for a vote to the presidents of episcopal conferences in a meeting held for this purpose and finally presented to the pope for approval and implementation. At this time the pope in consultation with the episcopal conferences could create an implementation commission to oversee the carrying out of the restructuring and with the mandate to report to the pope periodically. The work of the commission should be public and its conclusions should be public.

V. The Curial System and the Episcopate

A prominent theme in the Second Vatican Council and in the teaching of Pope John Paul II has been the participation of bishops in the threefold role of Christ as Priest, King, and Prophet.[15] This role is also called the threefold role of sanctifying, governing, and teaching. In the dialogue on the forms and way of exercising the primacy, there must, then, be an important place for dialogue about how the style and policies of the Papal curia affect both the pope's ministry as head of the episcopal college, and the collegial ministry of the bishops in communion with him.

The doctrine of episcopal collegiality is firmly in possession in the Church, explicitly affirmed by the Second Vatican Council, and frequently invoked by Pope John Paul II. In any realistic dialogue about the primacy, there has to be some

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consideration of how collegiality is lived, and how, not merely in theory, but in actual fact, the Papal Curia—an administrative structure—relates to and fosters collegiality—a doctrine of faith.

The curia is the arm of the pope. But the curia always runs the real risk of seeing itself as a *tertium quid*. When this happens, in place of the dogmatic structure comprised of the pope and the rest of the episcopate, there emerges a new and threefold structure: the pope, the curia and the episcopate. This makes it possible for the curia to see itself as exercising oversight and authority over the College of Bishops, to see itself as subordinate to the pope but superior to the College of Bishops. To the degree that this is so and is reflected in the policies and actions of the curia it obscures and diminishes both the doctrine and the reality of episcopal collegiality.

Yet the Vatican Council points out explicitly that the curia is in the service of the bishops. "These [the departments of the Roman curia], therefore, perform their duties in his name and with his authority [i.e., the name and authority of the pope] for the good of the churches and in the service of the sacred pastors."[16]

The same risk exists also in regard to papal nuncios who can easily assume too great a directive power in regard to the episcopate of a nation, weakening the authentic collegiality of that episcopate. Nuncios, of course, can also be a source of great strength to episcopates under duress, encouraging them and backing them up when they take public positions denouncing injustice or oppression in a nation. And nuncios can play an effective role of reconciliation in countries where an episcopate is divided.[17]

VI. Collegiality and the Teaching Office

Some years ago the future cardinal, Joseph Ratzinger, wrote that what the Church needs is,

> ...not adulators to extol the status quo, but men whose humility and obedience are no less than their passion for truth; men who brave every misunderstanding and attack as they bear witness; men who, in a word, love the Church more than ease and the unruffled course of their personal destiny.[18]

It is in that spirit, and in the interest of the honest and fraternal dialogue requested by the pope, that I would like to bring up some specific instances that I believe illustrate how the "way of exercising the primacy," as well as the curial system, have an important bearing on any realistic hope for unity.

I begin with the first of the threefold offices of Christ in which the bishops participate, the office of teaching. It is significant that it was Pope Pius IX, who defined the dogma of papal primacy and infallibility, who also vigorously upheld the public statement of the German bishops that bishops are not mere legates of the pope.[19] This doctrine was more amply articulated in the Second Vatican Council.[20] Such a doctrine cannot be affirmed in theory and denied in practice. Yet there are practical instances which are tantamount to making bishops managers who only work under instructions rather than true witnesses of faith who teach—in communion with the pope—in the name of Christ.

There comes to mind, for instance, the English version of *The Catechism of the Catholic Church*. On the positive side, bishops from various parts of the world were involved in preparing the *Catechism* and did in fact complete their work. An English translation was prepared which was agreed on by the English-speaking task force charged with its preparation. But objections to the translation were raised. Because of these objections, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith halted publication, rejected the proposed translation, and called for a completely new translation. The majority of the active English-speaking cardinals of the world supported the original translation and vigorously opposed any new translation. Yet they were overruled.

This suggests that the English-speaking cardinals, and the bishops of English-speaking countries, were not competent as teachers of the faith to judge the appropriateness or accuracy of an ecclesiastical document in their own language. This is certainly a diminishment of what it means to say that bishops share in the teaching office of Christ, and a diminishment of true collegiality.

In addition, a collegiality which consists largely in embracing decisions which have been made by higher authority is a very attenuated collegiality and the question must be asked how such limited collegiality truly responds to the will of Christ and how it responds "to the new situation." For instance bishops and episcopal conferences feel that such grave questions as contraception, the ordination of women, general absolution, and the celibacy of the clergy are closed to discussion.

The pope is not just a member of the Episcopal College. He is member and head. No one who understands this denies the pope the right to teach on his own initiative as he judges it necessary or appropriate. Granting that he has such a right, the real issue is when and under what circumstances he should prudently exercise such a right. Often discussion of these questions in the Church becomes frustrated because when they are raised it is said that one does not have sufficient loyalty to the pope or that there is a defect in one's faith. But faith and loyalty are not at question. It is the question of prudence and appropriateness. Far from signaling a lack of loyalty or defect in faith, raising such questions respectfully and honestly is in reality an expression of both faith and loyalty.

In the last century, a number of persons in Rome, as well as Cardinal Manning and others in England, thought that John Henry Newman, who expressed clear and principled objection to the opportuneness of the definition of papal infallibility and who spoke in strong condemnatory tones about the methods used by the pro-definition group, was lacking in Catholic faith and disloyal to the pope. Yet today, Newman is under consideration for canonization as a saint of the Catholic Church. Newman himself distinguished between the truth of a dogmatic definition and the prudence of the pope in making it.[21] This example makes it clear that while great

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emphasis has been given to the doctrinal aspects of the exercise of the primacy, too little attention has been given to the place of prudence in the exercise of the primacy. The doctrinal questions do not exhaust the discussion of the primacy. There is a legitimate and necessary place also for discussion of what is prudent at a given time in history.

Since it is the constant teaching of the Church that bishops are judges and teachers of the faith,[22] it would be more in keeping with this truth of faith if bishops were seriously consulted, not only individually but also in episcopal conferences, before doctrinal declarations are issued or binding decisions are made of a disciplinary or liturgical nature. In this way there would be a true, active collegiality and not merely a passive collegiality. It is true that Peter is charged by Christ "to confirm" his brothers,[23] but the brothers also support Peter. When Peter says, "I am going fishing," the others say, "We are going with you."[24] Some commentators are of the opinion that in this passage, Peter, despondent over the discovery of the empty tomb and not yet having encountered the Risen Lord, was returning to his former way of life. The others go with him to support him in a difficult moment.[25]

I believe it would greatly benefit both the unity and effectiveness of the Church if a council were held to mark the beginning of the new millennium.

The bishops, if routinely and widely consulted on doctrinal and other important pronouncements could be a better support to the pope, could help in bringing to bear the mind of the whole Church on a given issue and in formulating a teaching so that the pope would not have to bear the burden all alone. The evident participation of bishops in these major decisions would also dispose larger numbers of people to accept them more readily. In other words, even in doctrinal matters, there should be an effort to prepare and dispose people to accept teaching. The ancient canonical principle, "What touches everyone must be approved by everyone,"[26] bespeaks not only prudence but an understanding of human nature.

Newman postulated consultation in doctrinal matters not only because of prudence but also because of charity. He says:

> We do not move at railroad pace in theological matters even in the 19th century. We must be patient, and that for two reasons:—first, in order to get at truth ourselves, and next in order to carry others with us. The Church moves as a whole; it is not a mere philosophy; it is a communion; it not only discovers, but it teaches; it is bound to consult for charity, as well as for faith. You must prepare men's minds for the doctrine....[27]

The international Synod of Bishops is another exercise of the collegial teaching office of bishops. But the synod has not met the original expectations of its establishment. The synod was envisioned as being a way for the bishops of the world with the pope to deal with major issues touching the Church. At the present time, however, the topic of the synod is identified by a small commission of approximately fifteen cardinals and bishops, elected by the synod, who present their proposal to the pope. Ultimately the pope chooses the topic. An approach more expressive of episcopal collegiality would be to charge the presidents of episcopal conferences to get input from their national conferences and then to meet together and vote on three topics in order of priority. The topic receiving a majority of votes would be presented to the pope for confirmation and approval for the next synod.

Many bishops feel that issues which they would like to discuss responsibly cannot come up, such as those mentioned above, as well as others, such as divorce, remarriage, and the reception of the sacraments. I am not here taking a personal position on any of these issues. My point is simply to underline that issues of major concern in the Church are not really open to a free and collegial evaluation and discussion by bishops, whose office includes being judges in matters of faith. A free discussion is one in which loyalty to the pope and the orthodoxy of faith of those who discuss these issues are not called into question. In subtle ways and sometimes in very direct ways, the position of the curia on these issues is communicated to bishops at synods and intimidates them. In addition it is made clear that certain recommendations should not be made to the pope at the conclusion of a synod.

Responsible for unity, bishops do not want to create an appearance of rebellion and so, perplexed, they keep silence. The bishops also have great faith and a personal reverence for the pope and do not wish to embarrass him by the appearance of conflict.

The procedures of the synod are outdated and not conducive to collegiality in its fuller sense. They would, in fact, prove alien to many of those seeking unity who are used to parliamentary procedures and more free exchange and debate on issues. A new way of structuring and holding these synods could have a significant effect on the search for unity and the exercise of true collegiality.

It would make the synod more truly a collegial act if the synod had a deliberative vote and not merely a consultative one. And this, too, would be a greater incentive to unity and a more authentic embodiment of collegiality.

Reflecting on a way of exercising the papal ministry more suitable to the times, we need to recapture the importance of ecumenical councils in the life of the Church. The Council of Constance in the fifteenth century decreed that there should be regularly scheduled councils every ten years.[28] If that decree had been observed perhaps the history of the Reformation would have been different.

A council is a witness of the unity of the whole Church, of the Bishops with the pope and the pope with the bishops. It is a witness that amid the certainties of faith, still the Church does not have all the answers ready-made, that she must struggle and search for the truth, as the primitive Church strug-

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gled over the doctrinal and disciplinary issue of the Mosaic Law.

It is difficult in today's world, perhaps, to say how often councils should be held but given the gravity of the problems and opportunities which confront the Church today, the rapidity of change, the availability and instant character of electronic communication, the facility of travel, and the great diversity of cultures, I believe it would greatly benefit both the unity and effectiveness of the Church if a council were held to mark the beginning of the new millennium. It would be timely if such a council were to deliberate on how often councils should be held given "the new situation."

VII. Collegiality and the Sanctifying Office

The second of the threefold offices is sanctifying.

A number of bishops in various parts of the world believe that general absolution has beneficial effects in some instances and desire to authorize this practice. Certainly there are some obvious points against general absolution. For example, since the penitent does not have the opportunity for spiritual and pastoral direction in this circumstance, he can be left with a troubled conscience. But it would be a fitting work of collegiality if bishops themselves could face the various problems connected with general absolution in a full and free discussion of its doctrinal and pastoral aspects.

Inculturation of the liturgy is another source of tension in many episcopates. Here the fundamental question must be raised and discussed: the principle that the Roman Rite must serve as *the* Rite in the Latin Church. When this principle was adopted in the Second Vatican Council, there was not yet a sufficient appreciation or consciousness of the great cultural diversity in the Church. The Roman Rite with its hieratic, measured gravity greatly appeals to many people and rightly so. But there are other cultures which are not well-suited to this approach. Bishops as judges of the faith and as those who preside over the liturgy and prayer of their Churches should have the opportunity in synod or council to address this question more openly and in light of their experience. Difference in culture is, however, not the only consideration. We have also to keep in mind that there is a basic, common humanity shared by all peoples and which recognizes the need for reverence, adoration, the acknowledgment of the transcendence of God. There is as well the need for some common signs and practices in the Church which express her universality and communion.

VIII. Collegiality and the Office of Governing

The third office of Christ is governing. Here I would instance the policies regarding the appointment of bishops. The process as we have it in the United States, begins when a given bishop presents names of candidates to be discussed at a meeting of the bishops of a particular region called a provincial meeting.

At the provincial meeting, the names and qualifications of candidates are discussed in strict confidence and a vote taken. The names, with accompanying information, are sent to the nuncio in Washington, who forwards the list and the assembled information to Rome to the Congregation for Bishops. The nuncio's judgment is generally thought to have the greatest weight, more than that of the local episcopate. The material is then presented to a meeting of some fifteen cardinals and a few bishops who are called "members" of the Congregation for Bishops. This body discusses the candidates and votes on them. They usually, but not always, endorse the candidates as proposed by the nuncio. When the voting is completed the cardinal prefect of the Congregation for Bishops brings the results to the pope and the pope personally makes the final selection.

It is not uncommon for bishops of a province to discover that no candidate they proposed has been accepted for approval. On the other hand, it may happen that candidates whom bishops do not approve at all may be appointed. There have been instances of priests of religious orders being named bishops without the knowledge of their own provincial superior and of diocesan priests appointed bishops when their own bishop was not consulted. Under the existing policy, collegiality in the appointment of bishops consists largely in offering bishops an opportunity to make suggestions. But the real decisions are made at other levels: the nuncio, the Congregation of Bishops, the Secretariat of State.

There are, indeed, certain things to recommend the existing procedure. It distances the appointment of bishops from local factions and pressures. It prevents the development of pressure groups favoring one candidate and rejecting another. In some instances it also removes the possibility of the State becoming involved in the appointment of bishops. Yet honest, fraternal dialogue compels me to raise the question whether the time has not come to make some modifications in this procedure so that the local churches really have a significant and truly substantive role in the appointment of bishops. In light of the decrees of the Vatican Council itself, the participation of the local churches in this process cannot properly be confined merely to the participation of bishops but must include a meaningful and responsible role for priests, lay persons and religious.

Until roughly 1800, Rome's intervention in the appointment of bishops in dioceses outside the Papal States was rare. Until 1829, it was the policy of the Holy See to leave the appointment of bishops to the local church where possible. At the death of Pope Leo XII in 1829, there were 646 diocesan bishops in the Latin Church. Of this number, excluding those in the Papal States, only twenty-four were directly appointed by Rome.[29] The present practice, therefore, is fairly recent. It has historic foundations in the chaos created in Europe by the French Revolution and the fall of Napoleon, and by the withdrawal of the Italian government from the process of the appointment of bishops in Italy at the time of the unification. In default of any other responsible agent, Rome

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was suddenly confronted with the need to provide for hundreds of dioceses. But simply because a policy became necessary at a certain time due to historical circumstances does not mean that it is prudent to continue that policy in all future times. It is obviously not a practice required by the nature of the primacy but one which developed because of historical circumstances.

IX. Collegiality and Subsidiarity

Clearly linked, then, with the doctrinal truth of collegiality is the principle of subsidiarity. John Mahoney, S.J., has made the point that the word "subsidiarity" derives from the Latin word *subsidium* which means "help" or "support."[30] Hence the principle of subsidiarity means that a larger social body with more resources does not routinely absorb the role or functions of smaller and less powerful bodies. But it does help and support the smaller bodies to be able to fulfill their own role. This principle, enunciated first by Pope Pius XI in 1931 in his encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, gained wider understanding in the Church through the encyclical of Pope John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra*. These two encyclicals, however, speak of this principle in regard to secular society.

But in a little-cited address to newly named cardinals in 1946, Pope Pius XII explicitly stated that the principle of subsidiarity applies also to the internal life of the Church. The pope says:

> Our Predecessor of happy memory, Pius XI, in his Encyclical on the social order *Quadragesimo Anno*, drew from this line of thought a practical conclusion and enunciated a principle of universal validity: what single individuals, using their own resources, can do of themselves, must not be removed and given to the community. This principle is equally valid for smaller and lesser communities in relationship to larger or more powerful communities. And the wise pope [i.e., Pius XI] goes on to explain, "This is true because all social activity by its nature is subsidiary; it should serve as a support for the members of the social body and never destroy them or absorb them." These words are indeed illuminating. They apply to all levels of life in society as well as to the life of the Church, without prejudice to her hierarchical structure.[31]

And Pius XII goes on to say:

> ...The Church as she moves through history pursues without hesitation the providential path of the times. So profound is the sense, this vital law of continual adaptation, that some incapable of rising to such magnificent perspectives, dismiss it all as opportunism. But no, the universal vision of the Church has nothing to do with the narrowness of a sect or with a self-satisfied imperialism which is a prisoner of its own traditions.[32]

A careful study of this address shows that the idea of subsidiarity in the Church is not a mere secondary consideration or an afterthought. It is central to what the pope is saying. Important too is the fact that he contrasts subsidiarity in the Church with the centralization of the imperialistic societies of our time.[33]

Subsidiarity in the Church has been a continuing concern. A distinguished member of the curia, Archbishop Giovanni Benelli, while serving as Substitute Secretary of State, made this observation:

> The real, effective power of jurisdiction of the pope over the whole Church is one thing. But the centralization of power is another. The first is of divine law. The second is the result of human circumstances. The first has produced many good things. The second is an anomaly.[34]

This concern has been expressed now over a period of thirty years. The Synod of 1967 voted to apply subsidiarity in the revision of the Code of Canon Law. The Synod of 1969 voted in favor of applying it to episcopal conferences. And in the Preface to the 1983 Code of Canon Law, we read that one of the important principles which underlies the new law is "the principle of subsidiarity which must all the more be applied in the Church since the office of the bishops and their powers are of divine law."[35] Notice that the reason given for subsidiarity is not because it is a sign of the times but for dogmatic reasons.

In order to do justice to this declaration of Pius XII, to the Vatican Council and subsequent documents, not to mention the aspirations of Catholics and other Christians who hope for unity, many of the existing procedures and policies involved in the "way of exercising the primacy," as well as of the papal curia need to undergo a major and thorough revision. This should recognize the true authority given to bishops by Christ and proclaimed by both the First and Second Vatican Councils and the popes who presided over them. Large segments of the Catholic Church as well as many Orthodox and other Christians do not believe that collegiality and subsidiarity are being practiced in the Catholic Church in a sufficiently meaningful way. The seriousness of our obligation to seek Christian unity sincerely means that this obstacle to unity cannot be overlooked or dismissed as if it were the quirk of malcontents or the scheme of those who want to undermine the papacy. On more than one occasion, Pope John Paul II has said, "We must take every care to meet the legitimate desires and expectations of our Christian brethren, coming to know their way of thinking and their sensibilities."[36]

X. The Two Peters

During a television interview I was once asked, "What is the strength of the Catholic Church?" The first thing I mentioned was the pope. The pope, because I was thinking about how the Second Vatican Council came about. The Church and the world have some very grave and serious crises today. Both are going through a profound cultural shift. But the Catholic

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Church would be in an even greater and more chaotic condition if Pope John XXIII had not convoked the Vatican Council and given the Church a compass for this present turbulent age.

The Second Vatican Council is a witness of the importance of the pope for the existence and well-being of the Church. Had there been no pope, the bishops of the world thirty years ago would never of themselves have come together, the priests of the world would not have called for a council and still less the lay people. But it was the vision of a pope with true authority who called the council. I think it very likely also that we would never have an encyclical such as *Ut Unum Sint* with its candor and openness if there had been no council.

Neither the sources of Revelation nor the facts of history present to us an idealized pope distanced from all human limitations and failings. Rather, the New Testament, theology and Christian art present two portraits of Peter: Peter the Apostle, Peter, first among the Apostles; and Peter, the weak human being, Peter, the penitent. While the ecumenical dialogues have tended to deal with the first, more doctrinal aspect of Peter, the second and human aspect should not be overlooked. When we speak of the human dimensions of the holder of the Petrine office we do not necessarily speak of moral failure as in the case of Peter who denied Christ. We speak of what it means inherently to be human, and that is to be limited. Even if we were to say that this or that pope was a perfect human being and a perfect Christian, he would still be a limited human being who could not know everything or please everyone.[37] The distinguished Scripture scholar, Raymond Brown, has observed that we never cease to be scandalized that the mystery of salvation has been placed in human hands.

In considering the papal office and the call to Christian unity, we have to confront the challenging truth that it is not permitted to defer unity until there is a pope who can fulfill everyone's expectations or agenda. We cannot hold unity hostage until there is a perfect pope in a perfect Church. Christian unity will require sacrifice. But it cannot mean that all the sacrifices must be made by those who want full communion with the Catholic Church while the Catholic Church herself makes no significant sacrifices. Of the individual Christian the Scripture says, "You have been bought at a price."[38] Similarly, we all have to face the fact that unity among Christians will be bought at a price. All will have to sacrifice. If we are serious about the goal of unity, we must be serious about the cost of unity.

Gustavo Gutierrez was criticized by Rome for some of his work on liberation theology. When the media asked him his reaction he said, "I would rather walk with the Church than walk with my theology." He revealed his deep love for the Church even while suffering at her hands. Ignatius Loyola went to Rome with his first companions to offer themselves to the pope for whatever mission he might wish to give them. He could not see the pope just then because the pope, Paul III, was in Nice dealing with political affairs and arranging the marriage of his grandson, Octavio Farnese, to the daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor. Yet Ignatius and the first Fathers waited for the pope's return and then placed their talents, their future, and their lives into his hands. They witnessed their faith and showed fidelity to the papacy in the face of the grave personal defects of the pope.[39] These are only a few instances in the long history of the Church of a wholehearted acceptance of and reverence in faith for the Church and for the person of the pope and his office.

And as our thoughts range over the specific examples I have raised today, it is clear that there is an underlying issue that needs to be dealt with. Pope Eugene III had been a monk under St. Bernard at Clairvaux. In the course of the lengthy letter he wrote to Eugene on his election, Bernard admonishes him, "You have been more the successor of Constantine than the successor of Peter."[40]

This admonition of St. Bernard was directed at the pomp and adornment of papal public appearances. While the Vatican Council has brought a greater simplicity to the modern papacy, and John Paul II has introduced further simplifications, Bernard's comment readily brings to mind the tension between the political model and the ecclesial model at work in the Church. The fundamental concern of the political model is order and therefore control. The fundamental concern of the ecclesial model is communion and therefore discernment in faith of the diversity of the gifts and works of the Spirit. The claims of discernment and the claims of order must always coexist for one cannot be embraced and the other rejected. They must always exist in tension. But it is always wrong when the claims of discernment are all but eliminated in favor of the claims of order thereby making control and the political model the supreme good.

But in the end, the real question is not about the style, or "forms" or the "way of exercising" the papal office, important and critical as these are. For in this encyclical on Christian unity, *Ut Unum Sint*, there is the unspoken question driving everything else. The ultimate question which the pope—and all of us who seek the unity of Christians—must ask first and last is: "What is the will of God?" The question we must address is in the last analysis not a question of management, it is not how to reconcile differences or resolve disputes. The question is "What is God's will for Peter?" This is the courageous question Pope John Paul II has raised, the question he admits he struggles with and which he cannot answer alone.

Newman, who was treated very badly by bishops and by Rome over a period of many years, stands as an example of the search for God's will in the face of great personal suffering at the hands of the Church and the undeniable human defects of her ministers. When asked whether he had found what he hoped for in the Catholic Church, he replied:

> "Have I found," you ask of me, "in the Catholic Church, what I hoped and longed for?"...I did not hope or long for any "peace or satisfaction," as you express it, for any illumination or success. I did not hope or long for

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anything except to do God's will....[41]

The challenge of John Paul II to search out as brothers and sisters a new way of shaping the papacy as we approach the dawn of a new millennium is a sign of Christ, the Conqueror of sin and death and division. It is a sign of Him who is the Beginning and the End of all human history and who says, "Behold, I make all things new."[42] Christ as Lord makes everything new, a new heaven, a new earth, a new humanity. He is drawing us all forward into the future by the Spirit of the new covenant of love. We and the whole of creation are straining toward that future which God has prepared for those who love Him and do His will.

I am conscious that what I have said here today in Newman's Oxford has potential for distorted reporting and distorted appropriation by various extremes with their own agendas. These agendas are not mine. I speak completely in fidelity to the Church, One and Catholic. Indeed in the Second Vatican Council many cardinals and bishops said much of what I have said here today.

My reflections, then, are offered as a response to the pope by one who wishes to walk with him in an unbreakable communion of faith and love on the costly journey of discovery as together we search for the Will of God. It is the response of one who reverences the papal office and the person of the pope, who loves the Church, who was born of her womb in Baptism, who received the name of Christ from her lips.

Most importantly, it is the response of one who prays to Christ each day as Newman did, "...that I may receive the gift of perseverance, and die, as I desire to live, in Thy faith, in Thy Church, in Thy service, and in Thy love."[43] □

Notes

[1]Pope John Paul II, *Ut Unum Sint*, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, May 25, 1995; n. 88.

[2]*See, Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, Oxford University Press, 1990; *Peter*, part V. Iconography; p. 677.

[3]Pope John Paul II, *ibid.* n. 95.

[4]*Ibid.*n.96.

[5]*Ibid.*n.95.

[6]*See*, Raymond E. Brown, *Antioch and Rome*, Paulist Press, New York; c. VII, pp. 124–125; c. IX, pp. 168–169.

[7]Pope John Paul II, *ibid.* n. 95.

[8]*See*, Y. Congar, *Vraie et Fausse Reforme dans l'Eglise*, Editions du Cerf, Paris, 1950; cc. 2 & 3.

[9]*See*, M.J. Congar, O.P., *Divided Christendom*; Geoffrey Bles: The Century Press, London, 1939 Appendix One, p. 277.

[10]Pope Paul VI, *Address to the Roman Curia*, Sept. 21, 1963. *AAS*, 55, Oct. 12, 1963; p. 797.

[11]Second Vatican Council, *Decree on the Bishops' Pastoral Office in the Church*, c. I:9–10; Oct. 28, 1965: "The Fathers of this most sacred Council, however, strongly desire that these departments...be organized and better adapted to the needs of the times, and of various regions and rites. This task should give special thought to their number, name, competence, and particular method of procedure, as well as to the coordination of their activities."

[12]*See*, Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak, *History of Vatican II*, Vol. 1, Orbis/Peeters 1995; c. 2, part V, n. 1, pp. 133–135.

[13]Pope Paul VI, *ibid.* pp. 795–6.

[14]*See*, Cardinal Yves Congar, *Eglise et Papaute*, Les Editions du Cerf, Paris, 1994; c. II, n. 3, pp. 59–64; *see* also, Emmanuel Ghikas, *Comment "redresser" les definitions du premier concile du Vatican, Part II, La Primaute de Juridiction*, *Irenikon*, vol. 68, n. 2, 1995, pp. 182–204.

[15]*See*, Second Vatican Council, *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church*, n. 21.

[16]Second Vatican Council, *Degree on the Bishops' Pastoral Office in the Church*, c. I:9.

[17]*See, ibid.* n. 10.

[18]J. Ratzinger, "Free Expression and Obedience in the Church"; in *The Church, Readings in Theology*, Compiled at the Canisianum, Innsbruck; P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York; pp. 194–217.

[19]*See, Declaratio Collectiva Episcoporum Germaniae*, February, 1875; Denzinger-Schonmetzer, Editio XXXVI, Herder 1976, N. 3113 & 3115; Pius IX, Letter to the German Bishops, *Mirabilis illa constantia*, March 4, 1875, ibid. n. 3117.

[20]Second Vatican Council, *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church*, n. 27.

[21]*See*, John R. Page, *What Will Dr. Newman Do?*, The Liturgical Press, Collegeville, 1994; c. 2, p. 120; c. 3, p. 129.

[22]Second Vatican Council, *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church*, n. 25.

[23]Lk. 22:32.

[24]Jn. 21:3.

[25]*See*, Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John XIII–XXI*, The Anchor Bible, Geoffrey Chapman, London, 1972; p. 1091.

[26]*"Quod autem omnes uti singulos tangit, ab omnibus approbari debet." See, Code of Canon Law*, 1983, canon 119, n. 3. *Code of Canon Law*, 1917, canon 101, I, n. 2; *See* also, Cardinal Yves Congar, *Eglise et Papaute*, c. 2, pp. 42–43.

[27]John R. Page, *What Will Dr. Newman Do?*, c. 2, p. 109.

[28]Norman P. Tanner, S.J., Editor, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, Sheed & Ward and Georgetown University Press, 1990; Council of Constance, Session 39; Vol I, p. 438.

[29]*See*, Garrett Sweeney in *Bishops and Writers*, Anthony Clarke Books, 1977; c. 8, pp. 199–200; c. 9, pp. 207–231.

[30]John Mahoney, S.J., "Subsidiarity in the Church"; *The Month*, Nov. 1988.

[31]*AAS*, 38. 1946; pp. 144–46.

[32]*Ibid.*

[33]*See*, Joseph A. Komonchak, "Subsidiarity in the Church: State of the Question"; in *The Nature and Future of Episcopal Conferences*, CUA Press, 1988; pp. 298–344.

[34]Quoted by Cardinal Yves Congar, *Eglise et Papaute*, c. 1, p. 28, b.

[35]*Codex Iuris Canonici*, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1983; Preface, p. xxii, n. 5, Latin text.

[36]Pope John Paul II, *Ut Unum Sint*, n. 87.

[37]Pope John Paul II, *ibid.*, nn. 91–93.

[38]I Cor. 6:20.

[39]*See*, John W. O'Malley, S.J., *The First Jesuits*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1993; pp. 71 & 191; Andre Ravier, S.J., *Saint Ignatius Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus*, Ignatius Press, San Francisco, 1987, pp. 29–35; Andre Ravier, S.J., *Les Chroniques Saint Ignace de Loyola*, Nouvelle Librairie de France, 1973, p. 40.

[40]St. Bernard, *De Consideratione*, Romae, Editiones Cistercienses, 1963; Book IV, c. III, 6, p. 453.

[41]John R. Page, *ibid.*, c. 2, p. 122.

[42]Rev. 21:5.

[43]J. H. Newman, *Meditations and Devotions*, Christian Classics Inc., 1975; *Prayer for a Happy Death.*

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Richard Alleva

INSANE TIMES

'Warhol' & 'Anne Frank'

Madness resists drama. The irredeemably mad head straight for their abysses and watching this is boring, for they will never significantly deviate from their self-destructive routes. We are, mentally, there at the finish lines (the asylum, the suicide) before they are. However, the incompletely or erratically insane can be fascinating protagonists of fiction and drama because they question, struggle against, sometimes silence their internal din. And what dignity, even grandeur, there is in this struggle! Think of Dostoyevsky's heroes, Strindberg's *The Father*, Sylvia Plath's heroine/surrogate in *The Bell Jar*, Liv Ullman's character in Bergman's *Face to Face*, the adolescent protagonist of *I Never Promised You a Rose Garden*. These characters may evoke our compassion but never our lofty pity. Only a boob would murmur, "Poor Rashkolnikov."

On the other hand...

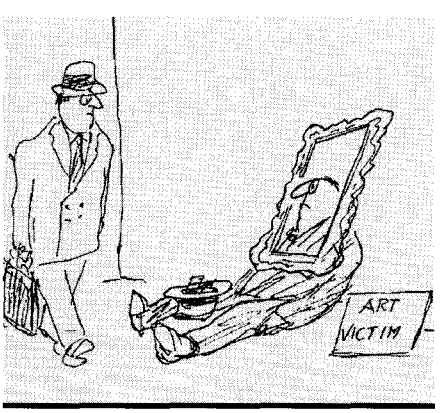
Poor Valerie Solanas! This would-be playwright and founder of S.C.U.M. (Society for Cutting Up Men) gunned down Andy Warhol after months of vainly badgering the artist to produce her plays. Aside from the fact that Mary Harron journalistically covered the Warhol scene back in the sixties, it's easy to see why the writer-director took on the subject matter for her first feature film, *I Shot Andy Warhol*. There are three compelling ironies implicit in the crime.

First, Warhol's most famous maxim is the one about everyone on earth some day enjoying fifteen minutes of fame. Well, Valerie enjoyed her quarter-hour by slicing off part of Andy's mortality. (Permanently weakened by his wounds, Warhol may have died a bit before his time.)

Second, Solanas wanted fame as fiercely as she hated "the world" (that is, the male-dominated, testosterone-fueled Way Things Work). But it is precisely that "world" that dispenses fame. So she was scrambling for a niche in a system she was bound to despise.

Third, her nutty version of feminism was a doctrine that condemned the entire male sex for its obscenely flailing, woman-pursuing libidinousness. (Working as a part-time prostitute aggravated her contempt.) Yet the man whom she accused of controlling her when she gunned him down was no heterosexual but a passively homosexual, emotionally becalmed, and very cool mocker of the "straight" world. True, Warhol, a black belt in emotional jujitsu, was an expert manipulator of those unfortunates (drag queens, would-be starlets, well-heeled druggies) who formed his entourage, but Valerie imposed herself on him. So the attempted assassination was a case of a would-be revolutionary trying to murder a past master of subversion.

It is to Mary Harron's credit that these ironies emerge during her film. And if you are interested in what went on in "the factory" (Warhol's studio) as a site for parties, work, orgies, business, drug-taking, or just hanging out, this is the movie for you. But I don't go to movies to collect ironies or to relish you-are-there verisimilitudes. I want multilayered emotional experiences and I become peevish when denied. *I Shot Andy Warhol* isn't really an excursion into the psychology of an odd woman or an odd milieu; it's a freak show. And, as is the case with freak shows, it doesn't try to encourage empathy but only a faintly ghoulish mixture of fascination and disdain.



Dressed like the Artful Dodger, Lili Taylor plays Solanas with Ratso Rizzo scuttling energy, a Groucho Marx hunch, and frenzied, appropriately stabbing gestures. Under a Dutchboy cap, her face looks as novocaine-numbed as Fran Lebowitz's and as frigidly sarcastic. But while Lebowitz's face is the mask a writer puts on to keep the nosy world at bay, Taylor-Solanas's visage is merely the reflection of an enslaved mind. Much praise has come to Taylor's performance and I can join in to this extent: the actress presents a believable, consistent, and initially striking impersonation. But this is a characterization without dramatic arc. That's not Taylor's fault, for the story itself, at least as Harron tells it, also has no arc. Valerie Solanas enters this movie crazy, exits crazy, and, in between, never has a chance to struggle against the grip of madness. The main actions of the story show us what lit the fuse to the bomb: Valerie's financial mistreatment at the hands of the brilliant but unscrupulous publisher, Maurice Girondias, and Warhol's repeated rejection of Valerie's artistic efforts. But the bomb was always there waiting to be ignited; Girondias and Warhol were merely the fortuitous agents. Back and forth, back and forth Solanas paces behind the bars of her obsessions while we, calm visitors to Harron's Zoo, can cooly observe the heroine's torment before passing on to, say, the dope-addicted transvestite in the next cage.

Could it have been otherwise? Should Harron have invested Solanas with flashes of lucidity which she perhaps never possessed? Not at all. This recreation of the woman's madness is probably accurate enough. It's just that the accurate recreation of madness is nothing to the purpose of drama. Imagine the novel *All the King's Men* if Robert Penn Warren had locked us up for four

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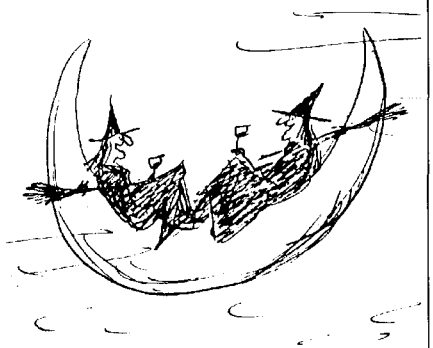

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hundred pages inside the coarse and hungering mind of Willie Stark and had never created the disappointed idealist, Jack Burden, to serve as narrator and mediating consciousness. Would we then see the significance of Stark's actions? Imagine *The Great Gatsby* without Nick Carroway: all that gallant naiveté dying in the swimming pool with nobody to ponder Gatsby as the avatar of the American Dream.

That's the trouble with *I Shot Andy Warhol*. For all its purposeful direction, artful photography, and good acting (Jared Harris capturing Warhol's crafty vacuousness to perfection and Lothaire Bluteau bringing Maurice Girondias to complex life), there's no mediating consciousness between us and the catastrophe that was Valerie Solanas. Watching this movie is like watching cars collide. It's vivid, noisy, interesting, and without significance.

Anne Frank's diary is often designated as one of the supreme documents of the Holocaust. So it is, but the thousands of teen-aged girls and boys who read it every year realize that it is also a testimony of adolescence by a supremely sane child living in an insane time. Perhaps the essence of sanity is the realization that other people are not characters in the ongoing novels of our lives. (Think of Solanas trapped in her own little paranoid thriller of which Warhol was Dr. Fu Manchu.) All teenagers, no matter how fundamentally sane, are drawn toward this sort of paranoia since it simplifies the vertigo of early adolescence. Anne, stuck for two years in the back rooms of an Amsterdam warehouse during the Nazi occupation of Holland and pressed up against the habits, crochets, backbiting, and smells of two families and a rather pedantic old bachelor, was undergoing the usual woes of youth aggravated to the nth degree. But, though she did villain-*ize* the adults on many pages (especially her mother and her bachelor roommate), she just as often struggled to understand them and their complaints, to see herself as they saw her, to attain the power of making reasonably objective judgments. Against greater odds than most teen-agers ever face, Anne struggled to become an adult. By the time the Nazis caught her, she was well on her way to becoming a wonderful woman.

The Academy Award-winning documentary, *Anne Frank Remembered*, written and directed by Jon Blair and narrated by Kenneth Branagh, beautifully extends Anne's spiritual work. Since she could not lift herself above the claustral irritabilities of the Secret Annex to arrive at the balanced judgments spaciousness permits, the movie does it for her. For instance, we learn that the bachelor-dentist whom Anne unfortunately immortalized under the name Dussel (the Dutch equivalent of *dummkopf*), was no *dussel* at all but a *bon vivant* called Pfeffer whose forethought saved his own beloved family but who found himself, after a life of some culture and sportsmanship, locked up in a few rooms and forced to share living and sleeping arrangements with a mercurial brat. Easy for us to love Anne as we read her; not so easy for Pfeffer! How Anne would have loved the fairness the movie extends to her old roommate, for this is precisely the fairness and humanity she was striving for during the time of her confinement.

In its second half, the portrayal of Anne's final days in the concentration camps, the film actually becomes more of a Holocaust document than the diary can be, for it places the girl's individual fate in the context of what happened to the millions of other slaughtered Jews. It does this without diminishing one whit Anne's blazing individuality. As Branagh's lucidly spoken narration reminds us, Anne's diary gave an unforgettable face to the collective suffering of the Nazis' victims. This movie now asks us to take an even more painful look at her, to imagine her suffering, in the days preceding her death, just as the testifying survivors in this film suffered, to apply their descriptions of starvation and disease to the face of the still buoyant and healthy child we know from the photographs of Anne in her pre-Annex days. Can we afford not to imagine such grief? □

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Roots of Catholic racism

Parish Boundaries
The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth Century Urban North
John T. McGreevy
University of Chicago Press, $27.50, 351 pp.

Don Wycliff

The urban immigrant parish of the early twentieth century educated children, nurtured families, encouraged home ownership, anchored communities, and created and defined neighborhoods. So what could there possibly be to criticize in an institution that did so much good?

Well, how about xenophobia, intolerance, and racism? Organized along lines of ethnicity, the immigrant parishes served well many essential needs of their own peoples. But they served far less well the demands of the gospel to treat all men and women as brothers and sisters. This shortcoming was evident not just in their treatment of African-Americans, but it was most evident there, and had the most far-reaching effects for the American nation and for American Catholicism.

Mining a largely unexplored vein of American social history, John T. McGreevy has produced a work that has the feel of at least a minor classic. "[H]istorians of modern America give matters of faith and belief only fleeting attention," he writes in explanation of his project. "Religion frequently ends up at the bottom of a list of variables presumed to shape individual identity, as an ethical afterthought to presumably more serious matters of class, gender, and ethnicity."

McGreevy, an assistant professor of history at Harvard (and a *Commonweal* contributor), put religion at the center of his analysis, and the result is a work that is more complex, but ultimately more intellectually compelling, than the usual treatments of urban race relations. As the author puts it: "A guiding principle of this study has been to understand Catholic racism, not simply to catalog it."

That locution—"Catholic racism"—clearly indicates that McGreevy was not trying to explain the phenomenon away. He couldn't have if he wanted to. The evidence of it is voluminous and overwhelming. Indeed, as he notes in several places, it is not too much to say that the black-white confrontation in America's cities in this century was largely a confrontation between African-Americans and Catholics.

But before there was *the* race problem, there was the "race" problem. "Crucially," says McGreevy, "the primary 'race' problem for American Catholics before the 1940s was the physical and cultural integration of the various Euro-American groups into the parishes and neighborhoods of the urban North, not conflicts between 'blacks' and 'whites.'"

As early as 1920, a Carnegie Foundation report described how "the great mass of [Catholic] immigrants belong to racial churches of their own." "Race" in this context referred to nationality, and in particular, the various European nationalities.

How tough was this early "race" problem? Listen to this description of Chicago's Back of the Yards Neighborhood in the early 1920s: "There residents could choose between eleven Catholic churches in the space of a little more than a square mile—two Polish, one Lithuanian, one Italian, two German, one Slovak, one Croatian, two Irish, and one Bohemian. Together, the church buildings soared over the frame houses and muddy streets of the impoverished neighborhood in a triumphant display of archi-

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tectural and theological certitude."

With its church, rectory, convent, and school (typically staffed by nuns of the same ethnicity as the parishioners), "Each parish was a small planet whirling through its orbit, oblivious to the rest of the ecclesiastical solar system."

This model prevailed in all the cities of the Northeast and Midwest. To an extent that is difficult to appreciate today, the parish supplied its members' social needs, as well as their religious ones. Priests encouraged parishioners to buy homes in the parish and parishioners responded, creating personal investments as important and binding as the communal investment in the parish's land and physical plant.

In a very real sense, says McGreevy, "Catholic neighborhoods were created, not found." And having created them, the various Euro-American ethnic groups were understandably attached to them and reluctant to abandon them. Indeed, at a time when Protestant and Jewish congregations had long since abandoned their urban worship spaces for new ones in the suburbs, the Catholics hung in. (The closest contemporary analogue to this may be the Hasidic Jewish community in Crown Heights, Brooklyn. Fiercely attached to the neighborhood where they have created their equivalent of an old immigrant parish, the Hasidim refuse to abandon it. And it has brought them, like the Catholics before them, into nasty confrontations with African-Americans.)

The implications of this for African-Americans were not auspicious. "Upon their arrival in the northern cities," writes McGreevy, "African-Americans would confront a set of Catholic peoples accustomed to discrimination and sympathetic to the notion that the segregation of 'races' was inevitable and natural." And the clergy and the hierarchy, whether out of conviction or resignation, generally acquiesced in this approach to things.

But the times, they were a'changin'. Forces both within and outside the church—from the Second World War to the rise of communism to the activities of committed interracialists like John LaFarge, S.J.—eventually eroded that attitude and led to its replacement by a policy of integration, a policy that was underpinned by a quite well-developed theology.

But while the policy and the theology were persuasive to the hierarchy and to committed "interracialists," they cut no ice with the average white parishioner in the pew, who saw in the arrival of blacks a threat to his or her home, neighborhood, and community—all the things that "parish" had come to mean.

Thus the hideous spectacles during the 1960s of civil rights demonstrators, often including priests and nuns aflame with fervor for social justice, being violently repelled during open housing marches in white urban neighborhoods. Maybe even more pathetic were the incidents in which African-American Catholic families were hounded out of neighborhoods so Catholic that they were known by the parish name.

What makes McGreevy's analysis of these events unique is his appreciation of the ecclesiastical and theological influences at work beneath the surface of things. The theology of the parish—there really is one—on one side; the theology of integration on the other. The Second Vatican Council, with its democratizing tendencies, was perhaps the most powerful influence on the interracialists.

McGreevy does not say it, but his book implies that, ultimately, African-Americans became incidental in the Catholic encounter with race in the urban north. Race became the issue by which two different white Catholic cultures—the old parish culture and the new democratic culture—defined themselves. To be for integration was to be a new, post-Vatican II Catholic, uncloistered and immersed in the world. To be against integration was to be for the old ways, the faith of their fathers, keepers of the parish, the neighborhood, the community.

And to be African-American is to be still in search of one's place in the one, holy, Catholic, and apostolic church. □

Don Wycliff *is editorial page editor of the* Chicago Tribune.

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SON OF A G-MAN

An American Requiem
James Carroll
Houghton Mifflin Co., $22.95, 279 pp.

James Uebbing

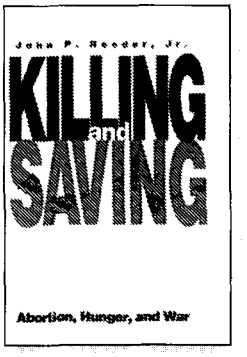
Anyone too young or too old to enjoy pious recollections of the nineteen-sixties might be allowed to cast a cold eye upon the reverent memoirs now being put forward by those, like James Carroll, who created or were sustained by the confusions of that decade. Old myths die hard and almost always outlive their audience. It could well be argued that, as far as mythologies are concerned, we have made only small progress since then. For the myth of liberation around which that epoch revolved is still very much alive and, despite the cataclysms of 1989, still determines our historical consciousness to a very large degree. For Carroll, as for most of the active participants in the conflicts of that age, this consciousness is inextricably woven into his own sense of identity as it developed and mutated during those years. That is why he makes such a good specimen of this type.

Throughout his career as a novelist, and most notably in *The Prince of Peace*, Carroll has shown a keen sensitivity to the metaphors contained within historical events. This is not history in the grand manner, à la Gore Vidal, wherein the public conflicts that create and change societies are traced in their origins to the petty spites of a few overbearing men. For Carroll the process is quite the reverse: his characters are very much at the mercy of their world rather than in control of it, and they seem to suffer as much from a consciousness, however dim, that they are pawns in some monstrous relentless game as from their more particular and immediate misfortunes.

There is a suggestion of Graham Greene in this approach—although Carroll lacks Greene's subtlety and possesses a far less arresting imagination—which is well-suited to spy novels, thrillers, and other narratives that operate through the gradual revelation of some hidden controlling power. Little wonder, then, to learn that espionage was the family trade in which Carroll grew up, and that much of his later crisis over the authority of church and state was rooted in his own history as the son of a G-man. The best and most interesting memoirs generally find some other focus than the author himself, and in this case it is Carroll's father who steals the show.

An FBI agent who came through the ranks to head up the Defense Intelligence Agency in 1961, Joseph Carroll was a perfect exemplar of the virtues by which American men once measured themselves: tenacious, loyal, self-effacing, and quiet. An organization man in an age of organizations, he became adept at working his way through them, charting the course that took him from the FBI to the Air Force to the Pentagon just as the cold war was turning Washington into a boom town on a scale unimagined since the Klondike gold rush.

But Joe Carroll had not been predestined for the role that he eventually learned to enact. He had begun as a Chicago seminarian and persevered all the way to the eve of his ordination, when he left abruptly to marry. Romantic gestures as stirring and grand as this inevitably become family legends, but it would seem that the young James Carroll was struck more by his father's first ambition than his last, because in 1962 he dropped out of Georgetown to enter the Paulist novitiate in New Jersey and he was eventually ordained a priest of the order in 1969.



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That short span of years was, of course, the undoing of an entire generation of American Catholics who had sworn themselves to the religious life, and Carroll himself became one of the casualties, resigning his ministry in 1975. To run a vocation aground after only six years was not enough to turn heads in those days—or now—and what sets Carroll's history apart is not its direction so much as its shape. For in his case the pacifist, ecumenist, and modernist enthusiasms that he picked up with increasing velocity in those years all had a sharply personal edge and ended up revolving around his father, who—as an Air Force general in some measure responsible for plotting the conduct of the war in Vietnam—became a literal object of Carroll's protests.

It would be hard to find a clearer—indeed, a more novelistic—image of the civil strife that raged through this country over the war than that of Carroll the young seminarian standing in the midst of an antiwar demonstration at the Pentagon, terrified that his father would see and recognize him from his office. Yet this is precisely what happened. It would also be hard to find a better symbol of the fate of Pope John's *aggiornamento* than Saint Jerome's Chapel at Boston University, which Carroll undertook to "renovate" in 1969.

> I took one look around Saint Jerome's and thought, Here is where we start. In that first year the pews went, and so did the altar, and so did the smoky glass....We put down a bright red carpet on which we could sit in a big circle until it was time to stand around the simple oak table a student had built. There was a rotation of banners, a riot of bright cushions, all made by the kids.

As groovy as all this sounds, it was remarkably short-lived, since Saint Jerome's burned to the ground in a mysterious fire a few years later. Carroll's priesthood did not long outlive it.

The real difficulty with Carroll's account of these events—the estrangement from his father as well as the failure of his priesthood—is that he seems to misjudge their nature, which is essentially tragic. They are not merely sad. Unpleasant events are sad; unpleasant events that arise from delusion or self-deception are tragic. If as a seminarian Carroll truly came to believe that the doctrines of Christ demand "Trust in this life, this process, this history, wherever it takes you," then the subsequent history of his vocation must be looked at in a very different light than he would shine upon it himself. For history can go badly wrong, as the quick failure of Carroll's own youthful idealism demonstrates, as the nightmares of Vietnam and Cambodia ought to have made clear. Pope John's second Pentecost and Kennedy's New Frontier were strong metaphors that energized a large part of an entire generation. It is no surprise that, like all metaphors, they became at once meaningless and cruel when read as literal prophecies. Anyone who is brought to believe, as Carroll apparently was, that the White House can give us justice and that the Vatican can give us God is sure to be as disappointed as any millenarian left upon the hilltop once his judgment day has passed. But when were such promises ever made?

The power of Carroll's story is not simply nostalgic. True, his descriptions of the rallies and the manifestos and the new ideologies themselves—Hans Küng is described at some point as "our Elvis"—make depressing reading today. Still, it is possible to catch a glimpse of the brave new world that Carroll and his friends imagined lying just over the crest of the hill, and it would be hard not to be stirred by such a vision of the new age—which is as old as time itself and never completely illusory. Liberation is usually conceived of as liberation from the past, but the past will always persist and organized attempts to overthrow it fail at a very high price. These failures, such as the failures Carroll describes for us, can be a great reminder for us all. They are certainly great stories. □

James Uebbing *is the editor of* Love Had a Compass: Journals & Poetry *(Grove Press), a collection of Robert Lax's work.*

WHEN NO CHOICE IS MORAL

Am I a Murderer?
Catel Perechodnik, translated by Frank Fox
Westview Press, $25, 288 pp.

Harry James Cargas

An incident from the early fifties, when I was an undergraduate at the University of Michigan: Sitting in the lounge chairs of the Newman Club, a group of us discussed at length and with all seriousness whether it was a sin to stop at a red light in a very small town at 3 A.M., and then, with no other car in sight, to drive on before the signal turned green. Later, in combat in Korea, I recall asking a chaplain about moral problems involved in killing—and also of the possibility of being killed while at the height of one's rage over seeing a friend killed right beside you. The chaplain waved me away: "Don't worry about it!"

I felt then, and still feel, that my questions were real and significant. But today I weigh such matters in a different context. After studying and reflecting on the Holocaust for more than thirty years, I continue to learn about the vastly more difficult moral dilemmas faced by victims of the persecution, dilemmas to which they had to respond immediately and decisively. The most recent revelation came through the posthumous

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publication, under the title *Am I a Murderer?*, of a document that had lain undiscovered for half-a-century, the personal history of a Jew named Calel Perechodnik who became a ghetto policeman in Poland and collaborated with the Nazis in the hope that he could thereby save his own life and those of his wife and daughter.

He betrayed Jews to save his family; but the betrayer was betrayed. Frank Fox, who translated the diary, tells the essence of the story in a Foreword: "Perechodnik and other policemen [help] eight thousand Otwock Jews into the town square, where they are loaded into boxcars. The policemen are promised immunity for their own wives and children, but the German enemy deceives them. Perechodnik watches in horror as his wife and daughter are loaded into wagons headed for the Treblinka death camp."

Just before his own death during the war, probably by his own hand, Calel Perechodnik gave the document to a friend; it finally came into the hands of Fox, who prepared it for publication. Perechodnik begins by saying that, though he is not a man of faith, this memoir is his deathbed confession. Telling the story, he blames himself completely, never offering any mitigating circumstances. Pain fills every word of the record. Perechodnick tells us that one day, after his family was shipped out, "I saw in the Polish neighborhood a girl pushing perhaps a two-year-old child in a carriage. My legs buckled under me. I recognized my daughter's stroller." He writes of his urge to strangle this baby who lived while his own did not.

The book encompasses a detailed account of ghetto life under the Nazis, a time of misery and desperation relieved only slightly by rare acts of kindness toward the Jews; but its focus and significance lie in its pitiless self-examination. The writing at first seems cold, detached, fully objective, but Perechodnik's crimes batter his spirit and he cannot remain emotionless. About a third of the way through he refers to the "fairy tale" believed by some, that "the heart is a chamber of delicate membranes that cannot stand suffering or emotion, and that they burst, causing death." Not so: "Today I would advise those who construct fighter planes to build them out of heart membranes. They will certainly not burst and will outlast the most enduring steel." Later he writes that he always wanted a child, to remember him after his death. But he helped destroy that child. We read, "These diaries are that fetus...."

Dare we throw stones at this man? Should he have tried to save his family at the expense of others? Are we in any position to judge?

These are questions that occur often to students of the Shoah. I know a Holocaust survivor who, as a girl in hiding with others, watched her father smother her infant brother, whose cries would have betrayed the presence of all those in concealment. Did he have the moral right to do that?

Adam Czerniakow, the head of the Warsaw *Judentrat* (the Nazi-appointed ghetto administration), was condemned

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by some Jews for collaborating, praised by other Jews for doing his best to ease the burden of victims under previously unimaginable conditions. Among his tasks was to help decide who went on the next trains to Auschwitz. The general practice was to try to protect the rabbis, the intelligentsia, and the children, who would form a core for regenerating Judaism. When Czerniakow got the order to begin sending children, he killed himself. Was that response wholly unacceptable?

And what of the Pole in exile, Shmuel Zygelbojm, who appealed repeatedly but in vain to the unbelieving Allies to act on the atrocity reports emanating from the ghettos. In a last effort to get attention, he punctuated his final letter condemning the lethargy by his own suicide. "May my death be a resounding cry of protest, against the indifference...." Was Zygelbojm's death a violation of God's law?

There is a story, well known to those working in Holocaust studies, of a woman in a death camp who was the only prisoner with access to the entire camp, because her assignment was to collect the corpses of those who had collapsed and died from hunger, despair, illness, and carry them by wheelbarrow to a place of disposal. One day a new prisoner in the early stages of pregnancy was brought to the camp. The other prisoners, eager to protect new life in the midst of death, rallied to her support, sharing their meager rations with her, hiding her in the midst of roll calls, helping her in her work. When her time came, the wheelbarrow woman placed her under some corpses, took her to a remote part of the camp, and helped her to bear the child. The wheelbarrow woman then strangled the baby to save its mother's life; it was standard Nazi practice to liquidate new mothers immediately, since they were considered to be poor workers. After the war the wheelbarrow woman said she would dedicate her life to having children. What is to be said of her act? And what of the women doctors in the camp, including some who opposed abortion in principle, who performed them (gruesomely, without medical aids, sometimes even without water) to save the mothers from Nazi execution?

These are surely serious questions, and there are many, many others. The question I put to the chaplain in Korea now pales in significance; the traffic signal debate of my college days seems ineffably trivial. While camping after hunting, William James and friends watched a dog chase a squirrel around a tree. A problem was raised: It is clear that the dog circles the tree, but does it circle the squirrel, which keeps the tree between himself and the dog? After much discussion, James resolved the issue, at least for himself, by concluding that "It doesn't matter."

How difficult some philosophical questions can be! □

Harry James Cargas, *a professor of literature and language at Webster University, Saint Louis, has published 2,500 articles (including this one) and thirty-one books. Much of his work has dealt with aspects of the Holocaust.*

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 4)

doned traditional Catholic social analysis in favor of an approach to public policy dominated by left-wing economics and pacifism. My question, repeated here, is how he squares this claim with the political history of those decades, which shows those same Catholic bishops repeatedly and consistently emphasizing the moral and political primacy of abortion. I'm afraid his comment on the distinction between the bishops as political actors and as political thinkers is not persuasive. And frankly I still find utterly preposterous the notion that the National Conference of Catholic Bishops has grown "reluctant to fight the abortion battle." Mr. Warner's repetition of that claim in his letter serves only to reinforce the argument I made about his book in the first place.

As for the differences between Mr. Warner's approach and my own, a closer look might convince him that we have more in common than he imagines. For starters, the leadership of the NCCB doesn't believe either of us is right. Great collaborations have been based on less. TIMOTHY A. BYRNES

The sacramental core

Grateful thanks to *Commonweal* for the lucid editorial "Marriage's True Ends" [May 17]. You state that "historically, marriage forged a powerful connection between sexual love, procreation, and the care of children." Yes, indeed—but why express this in the past tense? Our society has allowed this connection, basic to civilization, to become severely strained; nevetheless, on it depends our future and thus we have a duty to be mindful of so central a psychic truth. Such truths can be and are deviated from or evaded, but they cannot be outgrown, since they are eternally larger than our transient individual selves.

Yes, our society has devised procreation without copulation and, supposedly, self-fulfillment without willingness to serve the future. But your point is well taken: "We are all

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the offspring of a man and a woman, and marriage is the necessary moral and social response to that natural human condition." Rightly, you are not saying that homosexualilty is inhuman (psychology makes it clear that we all have a share of it as a force in our psychic make-up), or that homosexual relationships are not to be respected and valued; you are saying, rather, that copulation—"a union of the sexes," my dictionary tells me—is the core of marriage, and while we may and do commit other sexual acts, the copulatory is the sacramental: a truth the church has always held here in the West, and a prevalent concept in most societies. "Gay marriage" is thus a wrenching contradiction which has become in our time most tragically and confusingly politicized. Our way out of this confusion will be found only secondarily through laws and politics. The main work will be done at home.

JANE WILGRESS
Pacific Grove, Calif.

Including gays out

Reading your editorial, "Marriage's True Ends" [May 17], was excruciating. It reflected the kind of tortured, legalistic thinking that drives gay people out of the church in droves.

"Marriage as a social form is first a procreative bond," you say. Reasonable people might disagree. But then you make the leap: "Sexual differentiation is marriage's defining boundary...the precondition of marriage's true ends." Huh? Where did that come from? Is this the spirit of Jesus' teaching?

By contrast, I was grateful for Sidney Callahan's column [April 22, 1994] on the same subject. The point is this: We are given the sacraments to help us fulfill the plan of redemption. Denying the sacrament of marriage to gay couples, because they are gay, is a grave injustice and, I believe, sinful.

THOMAS HIGGINS
Pasadena, Calif.

Whose norm?

I am startled that an editorial ["Marriage'sTrue Ends," May 17] beginning with a call to "fair-minded debate" concludes that there are in fact no grounds for debate—not for those given divine insight into "marriage's true ends." No more than debate concerning women priests is necessary for those who know the "true ends" of priesthood?

"Historically," marriage has meant many things to many people, including an arranged condition important to maintain a sense of "intergenerational attachments." What do you think of Muslim polygamy? A breach of the "norm"? By millions? Aren't you simply defending another status quo dear to the hearts of a group that can be defined in terms of geographical space and historical time?

As Catholics, I am surprised that your editorial avoids all reference to the *sacramentality* of marriage. Is this just another accidental characteristic or, for Catholics, the distinctive meaning and "the norm"? But who aside from Catholics would accept such a

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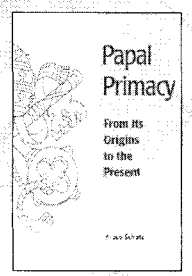

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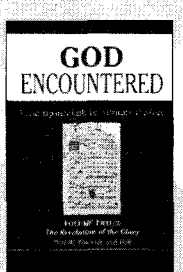

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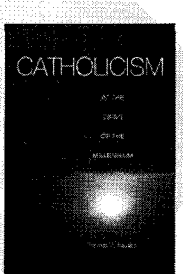

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"norm"? In any event, preservation of one or another social norm is hardly what the gospel is about. Or am I missing the point? Is your concern simply with this country at this time i.e., a question of expediency?

Procreation is not the norm of marriage just because you say so. Nor do the procreators have a "status" that needs protection. Do you have any idea what all this would sound like to couples who *adopt* children? Just social climbers?

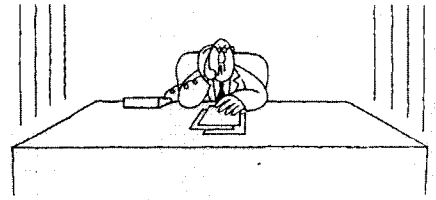
Why in the world do you quote Meilaender? He seems to think it's important to "teach us to discern the equal humanity of the child as one who is *not* our product" (emphasis added). Is this the attitude you would find more prevalent among those who have in fact "reproduced"?

Is the recognition of committed love between two people of the same sex really such a threat to those who are able to choose the more common relationship? Or is it possible that the Holy Spirit could in this as well as so many other ways be calling us to move beyond categories of our own making and to embrace all those who choose love? GAIL CHANDLER

Wallingford, Conn.

MLA isn't alone

Though I come late to Frank McConnell's attack on the Modern Language Association [April 5] and to the responses in Correspondence [May 3], I believe there is more to be said about the MLA's struggle to provide a job market for aspiring scholar/teachers. It is untrue to say, as he does, that the MLA has a "stranglehold on the hiring process," or that it is "the only and I mean the only organization of literature professors in the United States." The MLA may be the only group that cuts across periods and languages, but McConnell ignores a number of organizations that focus upon periods, individual authors, or the literature of a specific country or region, groups whose meetings are excellent occasions for meeting prospective employers or mentors in a smaller, more congenial setting than that of the



"Surrounded by imbeciles and incompetents! And you?"

MLA convention. The problem with the MLA job market is that the large number of applicants and the small number of tenure-track positions have created a formless monster, which the MLA attempts (without great success) to shape into a coherent process.

On another facet of McConnell's column, it is all too easy to make snide remarks about the prose styles displayed in the MLA's journal, but in doing so he would be well advised to cull from his own prose such clunkers as his depiction of the professoriate as "a psychic resort colony for imagination failures." ANN STRAULMAN

Kansas City, Mo.

Plaudits for Douglas

I was intrigued, indeed ultimately inspired by Mary Douglas's essay in your issue of June 14 ["A Modest Proposal"]. The article shows what I have long wanted to see but often despaired of finding in contemporary writing by those sincerely concerned with the feminist agenda and/or with challenges to our church and community. Bravo, Professor Douglas!

Since I as an ordained priest have long favored women's ordination, I started the article with a good deal of skepticism, but Mary Douglas won me over. Her main thesis—that the hierarchical model need not be given up as the church moves toward a radical new sensitivity toward women—strikes me as cogent. No doubt some will find she is asking too little and conceding too much to those who want to keep women evermore in a mode of quiet ecclesiastical submission. Yet, reading between the lines, I find her a worthy successor of all who have spoken in favor of expanding women's rights within the church, but without splitting it apart: a real danger.

True, the question of reform of the clerical priesthood (which is not dealt with by Douglas, at least not here) still lurks. I hope that in a future article, she will deal with that. Meantime, she has provided much food for thought and for a widening of the discussion into a pastorally fruitful, desperately needed dialogue.

PETER MURRAY, S.J.

New York, N.Y.

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SOUNDS OF SUMMER

Katharine Byrne

I am not now remembering bird songs at dawn or the lapping of waves against a shore or the rustle of leaves in sunlight, but the sounds we listened to in a city of sweltering summers.

We lived on a treeless street far from water, in a huge complex of four- or five-room apartments built in the shape of a squared-off "U." From an open kitchen window you could hear in summer the alley noises of local commerce: the clomp of a milkman's horse; the crack of the iceman's chisel; the cry of the old-rags, old-iron man.

Most of the sounds I remember came from the front of the building. Since the outpourings of a television set lay far in the future and even a crystal-set radio was rare, we had to generate our own noises. Those that were musical came from an upright piano on which children practiced their *Bach for Beginners* or banged out "Chopsticks"; or from a wind-up Victrola that played my father's Caruso records. Since there was no air conditioning, our windows were open to possible breezes; and also to our neighbors' audible joys or sorrows: their outbursts of anger, laughter, or tears. Even old Mr. Eckhau's snoring, for his bedroom window was only a few feet from our kitchen table.

A court-building like ours provided a protected and focused area for anyone on foot and with something to sell. We represented a concentration of prospective customers. But first you had to get our attention. Each purveyor had his own "commercial." A man with a crate of Michigan strawberries would stand in the middle of the courtyard hollering to housewives above him, "Strawberries, ladies! Fresh strawberries! Just picked this morning."

Two notes from the bell on his cart announced the scissors man, always a very old Italian whose appeal my mother could never refuse, whether or not her shears needed sharpening. A couple of blasts on a tin horn? The Sunday-morning balloon man. Lucky the child whose father could spare a nickel and felt a generous impulse. A plaintive "Santa Lucia" meant the organ grinder with his tiny assistant, a red-jacketed monkey who would tip his bellboy's cap if you were brave enough to offer him a penny.

On a hot summer night the singer of sad songs might appear and stand there in the pale light of the street lamp, wearing his shabby tweed jacket even though the night air was heavy and humid. Beside him on the sidewalk lay his limp cap with the dirty lining. In his whiskey tenor he would sing songs about a boy named Danny and a woman called Kathleen.

I learned by listening carefully that this Danny Boy was going away, his leave-taking a source of sorrow to the one he left behind. "The summer's come and all the roads are calling./It's you must go and I must bide." And Kathleen? She was someone who clearly was not happy where she was. But someone vowed to make things better for her, promising to "take you back, Kathleen/To where your heart will feel no pain./And when the fields are fresh and green/I will take you to your home again."

Most of all this singer loved his mother. His recital always ended with a song about her. His tearful tenor would "bless the dear fingers so toil-worn for me," and assure her that he loved "the dear silver that shines in your hair/The brow that's all furrowed and wrinkled with care." In a final burst, as though his heart would break, he prayed, "God bless you and keep you, Mother Machree!"

Then he would stand there, looking up at the lighted windows of our apartments. A few heads would appear and a little rain of paper-wrapped pennies and nickels would fall near his cap. I remember asking, "Will the man go home now and give this money to his mother?"

My father told me, "Not necessarily."

After the man left the courtyard, in the absence of anything to turn-on or other communication channels to pursue, sometimes my mother played his songs, and we stood around the piano trying to sing them. □

Katharine Byrne *writes from Chicago.*

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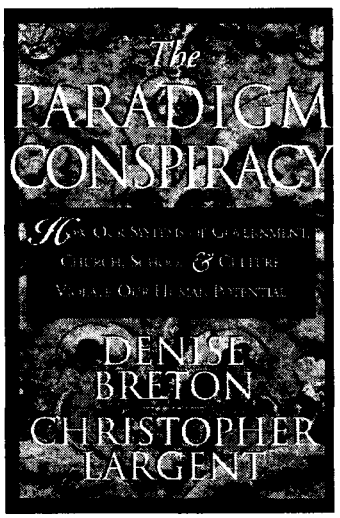
HAVE OUR SOCIAL SYSTEMS BETRAYED US?

In a society that measures worth according to dollars, deals, and productivity, we seem to live from crisis to crisis, using hard-nosed business practices, tougher law enforcement and even confinement and surveillance in our schools to keep our social systems working. What's going on? Why are our systems working so hard to punish us instead of performing their rightful functions of educating, nurturing and promoting the public good? According to this provocative new book, addictive processes permeate every social system we use from schools and churches to workplaces and government and are making us sick and unhealthy. *The Paradigm Conspiracy* explains why our systems have failed us and how they can be transformed through a dramatic paradigm shift toward fairness, integrity, and responsibility.



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